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Honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who does what to whom?

Lis Bates

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with the requirements for award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences and Law,
School for Policy Studies.

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Abstract

The British Government defines honour-based abuse as “a crime or incident which has, or may have been, committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community”. Policy has increasingly responded to specific forms of honour-based abuse, particularly forced marriage, but little scrutiny has been given to *who* and *what* are involved in other forms.

This empirical study investigated the nature and profile of cases known to police and victims’ NGOs in England and Wales; in particular, whether and how they differed from forced marriage, and other domestic and intimate partner abuse. Data were collected from 162 case files identified as honour-based abuse by a police force and two victims’ NGOs, and combined with 1,312 case profiles from a national charity. Descriptive thematic analysis of the 162 case summaries was used to compare and contrast groups of cases on different characteristics, and quantitative methods (descriptive statistics and logistic regression) were used to test all 1,474 cases for significant associations between key variables relating to victims, perpetrators, and forms of abuse.

A typology of honour-based abuse was developed, based on the relationship(s) of the victim and perpetrator, number of perpetrators, and characteristics of the individuals and abuses involved. The three types were: (*Type I*) Partner abuse; (*Type II*) Family abuse; and (*Type III*) Partner plus family abuse. I argue that, within an overarching lens of gender-based violence, *Types I* and *III* can be seen as forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse; whereas *Type II* is different in nature. Until further research is conducted to validate my proposed typology, I suggest that the three types continue to be conceptualised together as honour-based abuse. To this end, I propose a revised policy definition, which incorporates the three types and better reflects these findings.

Advancement of new empirical data to address the knowledge gap around who and what are involved in honour-based abuse, development of a typology, and proposal of a new policy definition, all make this study a unique and original contribution to knowledge.

Dedication

For mum, and for grandma, without whom I would not have been inspired by and for women.

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Doing this PhD over a long eight years means some personal thanks are due!

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Author's Declaration

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the requirements of the University's Regulations and Code of Practice for Research Degree Programmes and that it has not been submitted for any other academic award.

Except where indicated by specific reference in the text, the work is the candidate's own work.

Work done in collaboration with, or with the assistance of, others, is indicated as such.

Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED: LIS BATES

DATE: 18 January 2017

Table of contents

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES	x
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	xiii
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
Setting the scene: why this study and why now?	1
Theoretical approach and positioning	4
Research questions and design	4
Significance of this research	5
Structure of this thesis	7
CHAPTER 2: DEFINITIONS AND DEBATES: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS.....	8
Introduction	8
A note on terminology and language	8
Definitions of honour	9
<i>A principle of social organisation</i>	9
<i>Honour, women and social control</i>	10
Definitions of honour-based abuse	11
<i>Government and statutory agencies: policy definitions</i>	12
<i>Academics and NGOs: features-based definitions</i>	13
<i>Challenges in defining honour-based abuse</i>	15
Forced marriage—definitions and challenges	16
Definitions	16
Forced marriage and honour-based abuse	18
Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)—definitions and challenges	20
Relationship of FGM to honour-based abuse	20
FGM—Out of scope for this study	20
Defining honour-based abuse for this study	22
Conceptualising honour-based abuse: theories about what drives it and how to frame it.....	22
Introduction	22
Religion—a ‘Muslim problem’?	23
Cultural framings	24
Distinguishing religion and culture.....	24
‘Cultural’ explanations	25
“Mature multiculturalism” and human rights	26
Immigration	27
Feminist framings: gender-based violence	28
A specific form of violence against women	28
‘Difference’ schools of thought.....	30
Intersectionality	31
Similar but distinct?	32
Female perpetrators: a challenge to a feminist framing?	34
Conclusion: conceptual framework for this study	38

CHAPTER 3: EMPIRICAL DATA ON HONOUR-BASED ABUSE: HOW MUCH IS THERE, WHAT IS IT, AND WHO IS INVOLVED?	40
Introduction	40
Scale of honour-based abuse: incidence and prevalence	41
<i>Data challenges and sources</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>What we know—honour-based abuse and forced marriage</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Summary: how much honour-based abuse and forced marriage is there nationally?</i>	<i>45</i>
Where is it happening?	45
<i>Which communities?</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Where?</i>	<i>47</i>
Who is it happening to?	48
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Victim gender</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Victim age</i>	<i>49</i>
<i>Victim ethnicity, nationality and religion</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Victim sexual orientation</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>Victim immigration status</i>	<i>52</i>
Who is doing it?	52
<i>Perpetrator relationship(s) to victim</i>	<i>52</i>
<i>Number of perpetrators</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Perpetrator gender</i>	<i>54</i>
<i>Perpetrator demographics</i>	<i>54</i>
What does the abuse involve?	55
<i>Abuse profile</i>	<i>55</i>
Criminal justice system data	56
Summary: Gaps in empirical data	57
 CHAPTER 4: RESPONSES	 58
Trends in national government responses to honour-based abuse	58
Specific national government policy framings	60
<i>Forms of state intervention</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Immigration control</i>	<i>60</i>
<i>Criminalisation</i>	<i>61</i>
Current government policy	61
Legislative frameworks	62
<i>Human Rights frameworks</i>	<i>62</i>
<i>National criminal law (England and Wales)</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Civil orders</i>	<i>66</i>
Police identification and flagging	66
<i>Policy, strategy and guidance</i>	<i>66</i>
<i>Flagging</i>	<i>68</i>
Summary: Gaps in policy, law, government and police responses	69
 CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY	 71
Introduction	71
Research questions	71
Research design	71

<i>Choosing a method</i>	71
<i>Sample</i>	74
<i>Combining datasets</i>	76
Data collection	77
<i>Determining variables of interest</i>	77
<i>Data collection and coding–police/S01/S02 sites</i>	77
Police force, South West.....	78
Service S01, East Midlands	79
Service S02, North West England	79
<i>Insights</i>	80
<i>Translating ‘incidents’ to people</i>	81
Final set of variables	81
<i>Site</i>	82
<i>Victim variables</i>	82
<i>Perpetrator variables</i>	82
<i>Abuse profile variables</i>	83
<i>Criminal justice system variables</i>	83
A new variable–Type of honour-based abuse	84
Analysis–introduction	86
Analysis–Key informant interviews	86
Descriptive case analysis–police/S01/S02 cases	88
Quantitative analysis–all four datasets	90
<i>Descriptive statistics</i>	90
<i>Logistic regression</i>	91
Ethical and methodological challenges	93
<i>Accessing police data for research: a discussion</i>	93
<i>Overarching ethical challenges</i>	95
Informed consent	96
Anonymity and confidentiality	98
Database management and storage	100
 CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS (DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS)–WHO IS INVOLVED IN HONOUR-BASED ABUSE?	 101
Introduction	101
WHO ARE THE VICTIMS?	101
Summary–victim characteristics	104
Detail–victim characteristics	106
<i>Victim gender</i>	106
<i>Victim sexual orientation</i>	113
<i>Victim age</i>	116
<i>Victim ethnicity</i>	121
White British vs BME victims	122
<i>Victim nationality and immigration status</i>	127
<i>Victim religion</i>	131
<i>Victim-perpetrator relationship</i>	131
Who are the perpetrators?	131
Who are the perpetrators?	132
Data quality	134
Summary–Perpetrator characteristics	134
Detail–Perpetrator characteristics	135

<i>Perpetrator gender</i>	135
<i>Number of perpetrators</i>	137
Chapter conclusion—people and relationships in the datasets	140
 CHAPTER 7: FINDINGS (DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS)—NATURE OF THE ABUSIVE EXPERIENCE	142
Introduction	142
WHAT ABUSE IS INVOLVED?	142
Summary—Experiences of abuse	144
Detail—Experiences of abuse	145
<i>Profile of abuse</i>	145
<i>Multiple forms of abuse</i>	149
<i>Threats to kill</i>	150
<i>Risk assessment</i>	151
<i>Forced marriage and its overlap with honour-based abuse</i>	152
Key findings from chapters 6 and 7	153
 CHAPTER 8: FINDINGS (QUANTITATIVE)—TESTING THE TYPES	156
Introduction	156
Types and data collection sites	156
Profiling the types	158
<i>Victim characteristics by type</i>	158
<i>Perpetrator characteristics by type</i>	163
<i>Abuse characteristics by type</i>	171
<i>Criminal justice system characteristics by type</i>	174
<i>Summary: key features of the three types</i>	179
Modelling (logistic regression)	180
<i>Introduction</i>	180
<i>Model 1: Predicting the three types</i>	181
Results—Insights dataset	181
<i>Model 2: Intimate partner vs no intimate partner perpetrator</i>	184
Results—police/SO1/SO2 dataset	186
Results—Insights dataset	188
Summary: involvement of intimate partner perpetrator.....	191
<i>Model 3: Forced marriage—overlap with honour-based abuse</i>	193
Introduction	193
Results—Insights dataset	194
Summary: forced marriage	197
Chapter conclusion	197
 CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	200
Introduction	200
Research question 1: What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve?	201
<i>Victim gender</i>	201
<i>Victim ethnicity</i>	203
<i>Victim age</i>	206
<i>Victim sexual orientation</i>	207

<i>Victim immigration status/nationality</i>	208
<i>Perpetrator gender</i>	210
<i>Perpetrator number</i>	213
<i>Victim-perpetrator relationship</i>	213
<i>Abusive experience</i>	215
<i>Risk</i>	216
<i>Conclusion: nature and profile</i>	216
Research question 2: How does forced marriage relate to honour-based abuse?	218
<i>Features of forced marriage</i>	218
<i>Conceptualisations of forced marriage</i>	219
<i>Relationship with honour-based abuse</i>	220
Research question 3: Should honour-based abuse be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse?	222
<i>Framing the question</i>	222
<i>Commonalities with domestic and intimate partner abuse</i>	224
<i>Specificity and difference</i>	225
<i>The three types—a spectrum of commonality to difference?</i>	226
<i>The appropriateness of a gendered approach</i>	228
<i>Conclusion: Research question 3</i>	229
Research question 4: What are the implications for national policy and definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage?	230
<i>Introduction—two forms of definition?</i>	230
<i>Existing policy definitions</i>	231
<i>Honour-based abuse: merged with or separate to domestic abuse?</i>	235
<i>Is the definition of honour-based abuse fit for purpose?</i>	236
<i>Towards a revised definition of honour-based abuse</i>	237
<i>Other policy implications</i>	241
<i>Implications for practice</i>	241
<i>New criminal offences?</i>	242
<i>Conclusion: Research question 4</i>	243
Contribution and limitations of this research	244
<i>Original contribution to knowledge</i>	244
<i>Limitations</i>	244
<i>Further research</i>	246
Conclusion	248
REFERENCE LIST	250
APPENDICES	266
Appendix A: Research data access agreement with victims' NGOs (template)	266
Appendix B: Further discussion of sampling strategy (police, S01 and S02 data sites)	268
Appendix C: Full list of variables (police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)	271
Appendix D: Logistic regression—model development	283
Appendix E: UoB SPS Ethics Committee approval for my PhD proposals	295
Appendix F: Procedures for analysis of case records	296

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Geographic location of callers to the National HBV Helpline, 2008	47
Table 2: Ethnic composition of English regions and Wales, Census 2011	48
Table 3: Age of victims of forced marriage in 2015.....	50
Table 4: Key characteristics of victims of honour-based abuse (Police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)	101
Table 5: Sample of case summaries by victim gender (Police, S01, and S02 datasets)	107
Table 6: Sample of case summaries by victim sexual orientation (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	114
Table 7: Sample of case summaries by victim age group (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	117
Table 8: Key victim ethnicities by form of honour-based abuse (Insights dataset)	123
Table 9: Key victim ethnicities by form of honour-based abuse and number of perpetrators (Insights dataset)	123
Table 10: White British/Irish victims by form of honour-based abuse and relationship with perpetrator (Insights dataset)	124
Table 11: Case summaries of all cases involving White British victims (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	125
Table 12: Sample of case summaries by victim nationality (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	128
Table 13: Key characteristics of perpetrators of honour-based abuse (Police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)	132
Table 14: Sample of case summaries by perpetrator gender (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	135
Table 15: Sample of case summaries by number of perpetrators (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	138
Table 16: Key characteristics of the abuse (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	142
Table 17: Sample of case summaries by abuse profile (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	146
Table 18: Sample of case summaries by forms of abuse (Police, S01 and S02 datasets)	149
Table 19: Risk levels of honour-based abuse only and forced marriage only cases (Insights dataset)	152
Table 20: Summary of key findings from chapters 6 and 7—key features of victims, perpetrators and forms of abuse (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)...	154
Table 21: Types of honour-based abuse by dataset.....	157
Table 22: Pearson’s chi-square association of <i>site</i> with <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 dataset)	158
Table 23: Victim variables by <i>type</i> (Police/ S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	159

Table 24: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim variables with <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	161
Table 25: Perpetrator variables by <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	163
Table 26: Pearson’s chi-square associations of perpetrator variables with <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	167
Table 27: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim variables with <i>multiple perpetrators</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	167
Table 28: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim variables with <i>female perpetrator involved</i> (Police/S01/S02 dataset)	169
Table 29: Abuse variables by <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	171
Table 30: Pearson’s chi-square associations of abuse variables with <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	172
Table 31: CJS variables by <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	174
Table 32: Pearson’s chi-square associations of CJS variables with <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	177
Table 33: Summary of findings: associations of key variables with <i>type</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	179
Table 34: Multinomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome variable <i>type</i> (Insights dataset)	182
Table 35: Multinomial regression model for <i>type</i> –prediction of variance.....	183
Table 36: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim, perpetrator and abuse variables with <i>intimate partner perpetrator</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	184
Table 37: Binomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome variable <i>intimate partner perpetrator</i> (Police/S01/S02 dataset)	187
Table 38: Binomial regression model for <i>intimate partner perpetrator</i> (Police/S01/S02 dataset)–prediction of variance.....	188
Table 39: Binomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome] variable <i>intimate partner perpetrator</i> (Insights dataset)	190
Table 40: Binomial regression model for <i>intimate partner perpetrator</i> (Insights dataset)–prediction of variance.....	190
Table 41: Summary of findings: associations of key variables with <i>intimate partner perpetrator</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	192
Table 42: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim, perpetrator and abuse	

variables with <i>forced marriage</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	193
Table 43: Binomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome variable <i>forced marriage</i> (Insights dataset)	195
Table 44: Binomial regression model for <i>forced marriage</i> (Insights dataset)– prediction of variance.....	195
Table 45: Summary of findings: regression-tested associations of key variables with <i>forced marriage</i> (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)	197
Table 46: Key Government policy definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage.....	232
Table 47: Revised definition of honour-based abuse (Bates, 2017)	238
Table 48: Variables significantly associated with <i>type</i> (Insights dataset)	285
Table 49: Regression assumption checks–Model 1 (Insights)	292
Table 50: Regression assumption checks–Model 2 (Police/S01/S02 dataset)	292
Table 51: Regression assumption checks–Model 2 (Insights)	293
Table 52: Regression assumption checks–Model 3 (Insights)	294
 Figure 1: ‘Nationality’ of victims calling the National HBV Helpline, 2008.....	 51
Figure 2: Relationship of perpetrator(s) to victims calling the National HBV Helpline	53
Figure 3: Nature of abuse reported by victims calling the National HBV Helpline	55
Figure 4: Overlap of forced marriage and honour-based abuse	221

Abbreviations and acronyms

ABH	Actual Bodily Harm
ACPO	Association of Chief Police Officers
ADLS	Administrative Data Liaison Service
BAME	Black, Asian and Minority Ethnic
BME	Black and Minority Ethnic
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination of Against Women
CCJ	Criminal and Civil Justice
CJS	Criminal Justice System
COE	Council of Europe
CPS	Crown Prosecution Service
DASH	Domestic Abuse, Stalking and Harassment
DVA	Domestic Violence and Abuse
DV	Domestic Violence
ECHR	European Convention on Human Rights
EEA	European Economic Area
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FM	Forced Marriage
FMPO	Forced Marriage Protection Order
FMU	Forced Marriage Unit
FOI	Freedom of Information
GBH	Grievous Bodily Harm
GBV	Gender Based Violence
HASC	Home Affairs Select Committee
HBA	Honour Based Abuse
HBV	Honour Based Violence
HMG	Her Majesty's Government
HMIC	Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary
ICAHK	International Campaign Against Honour Killings

IHBVAN	International HBV Awareness Network
IDVA	Independent Domestic Violence Advisor
IKWRO	Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender
LSAB	Local Safeguarding Adults Board
LSCB	Local Safeguarding Children Board
MARAC	Multi Agency Risk Assessment Conference
NFA	No Further Action
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPCC	National Police Chiefs' Council
NRPF	No Recourse to Public Funds
NSPCC	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children
PCC	Police and Crime Commissioner
PIS	Participant Information Sheet
RIC	Risk Identification Checklist
SPS	School for Policy Studies
UK	United Kingdom
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
VAW	Violence Against Women
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls

Chapter 1: Introduction

Setting the scene: why this study and why now?

I first encountered the notion of honour-based abuse in 2007, whilst working for the Home Affairs Select Committee in the House of Commons. I ran a year-long inquiry for the Committee, examining policy responses to domestic violence, forced marriage and so-called “honour”-based violence, resulting in a report with recommendations about Government policy, published in 2008. At the time, the question of honour-based violence or abuse seemed particularly under-developed compared to the other elements we looked at—both in terms of definitions and understandings, and in terms of data and policy responses. The subject caught my interest, and I developed this interest between 2008 and 2010 through my MSc at Bristol University, writing a dissertation on honour-based violence and suicide. This research confirmed me in my belief that there was an urgent need for more data and discussion on honour-based abuse as an issue in and of itself, and that little in the way of such work was already being undertaken. So, starting my PhD in 2010, I decided to focus on a study which would put new empirical data into the field, and would yield fresh evidence for developing understandings of what was involved in honour-based abuse in the context of England and Wales. Eight years on from starting my PhD, and ten from when I first heard about honour-based abuse, whilst in the interim there have been some theoretical texts published, and a national police inspection on the subject, I believe that what I wrote for the Committee in 2008 remains relevant today: “the lack of comprehensive data [...] makes it difficult for agencies to understand the nature of the issue and formulate appropriate policy responses” (Parliament, House of Commons, 2008a, p.19). This thesis is a contribution to address that gap.

In England and Wales¹ over the past ten years or so, government policy and practice guidance has developed to be able to describe honour-based abuse insofar as (a) it can identify certain common risk factors (e.g. ethnic groups) or distinctive profile features (e.g. multiple perpetrators, community involvement or cover-up), (b) it can describe in simple terms what

¹ This study uses England and Wales as its geographical scope, since policing and criminal justice systems are devolved in Northern Ireland and Scotland and no case data used in this study related to cases in either Northern Ireland or Scotland.

honour means to communities or families who adhere to honour codes, and (c) it can identify behaviours which may be deemed by families to be dishonourable and trigger abuse (e.g. 'western' behaviour, continuing education, having a boyfriend/wanting to make a love marriage). Policy has also to some extent been successful at (d) producing guidance and interventions for responding to specific needs of this form of abuse (e.g. ACPO, 2008; HMG, 2014a).

But public and professional understanding is still skewed to the highest-risk and highest-profile end, that of so-called 'honour killings' (e.g. the cases of Banaz Mahmood, Rucksana Naz (Siddiqui, 2014)). Such cases have raised the profile of honour-based abuse up the political agenda and galvanised public policy responses, as well as improved public awareness. However, it has also risked exoticising the abuse as something 'other' and polarising it from other mainstream forms of domestic abuse, intimate partner violence and gender-based violence (Thiara and Gill, 2010). Moreover, it has meant that the rest of the spectrum of honour-based abuse (i.e. any such abuse which is not a so-called honour killing) has been overshadowed and neglected. Insufficient scrutiny, especially using empirical evidence, has been brought to bear on: what behaviour is involved in honour-based abuse cases which do not involve murder, whether there are specific patterns or forms or combinations of abusive behaviour in these cases, and—in particular—who, and how many, individuals in the family or community are doing the abuse.

This picture has been further complicated by two things. First, honour-based abuse is often conflated with forced marriage and, more recently (e.g. HMIC, 2015) also with Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). There is certainly cross-over with forced marriage which, as this study will show, often occurs in the context of honour-based abuse. However (as I argue in chapter 2 in giving my rationale for excluding it from this study), FGM is rather different in nature and, I suspect, has been included together with honour-based abuse partly for policy expediency around including it in a broader collection of 'harmful traditional practices' associated with specific ethnic groups, rather than because it necessarily shares core characteristics. Whilst it can be argued that forced marriage (and to a lesser extent, FGM) are forms of honour-based abuse, the conflation of these two specific practices with honour-based abuse overall has led to a situation where (as I will argue in chapters 2–4) forced marriage and FGM have been

much more frequently the focus of research, law and policy: a development which has compounded our lack of understanding of what other forms honour-based abuse can take.

Second, as with domestic abuse, honour-based abuse is a pattern of abuse which can include some individual acts, but more commonly describes a broader, wide-ranging pattern of controlling behaviours over time. The label 'honour-based abuse' only describes a (stated) motivation or justification for abuse, rather than what that abuse is, or how it differs from domestic abuse (Siddiqui, 2014).

These elements have contributed to a skewed situation in which, whilst commonly members of the public may recognise the terms 'honour killing' or 'forced marriage', there is little understanding publicly or amongst professionals and policy-makers about what the rest of the spectrum of honour-based abuse involves: who is doing what to whom, and what the different forms of abuse might involve. Not only does this risk perpetuating the positioning of honour-based abuse as 'other', it has a very immediate practical impact on victims and families—how can good interventions and support be developed if we don't really know what we are dealing with?

Gelles (2010) notes that there are three stages in societal responses to abuse: (1) recognition of the topic; (2) collecting evidence to refine understandings and causation; and, finally, (3) development of legislation, policy and interventions to address the problem. With respect to honour-based abuse, for some years, Chantler (2012) suggests, since the issue was recognised in public policy, the national response has rather jumped ahead from (1) to (3) bypassing (2). This continues to be the case, with a recent HMIC inspection on honour-based violence (HBV) and FGM recommending (and the Home Office then undertaking to consider) the introduction of new criminal measures on honour-based abuse, without any good evidence to refine the definitions or profiles of such cases (HMIC, 2015).

This study aims to address some of these challenges with a systematic examination of a set of cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage in England and Wales known to police and non-governmental agencies (NGOs) supporting victims of abuse.

Theoretical approach and positioning

I approach honour-based abuse from a gendered perspective, viewing it as one of many forms of gender-based violence which arise from patriarchal cultures and stem from attempts to control women's autonomy or sexuality (Siddiqui, 2014). In common with other forms of gendered violence, I believe it should be conceived of as a pattern of abuse over time, rather than one-off incidents. I will argue that key to it are the intimate and family relationships between its victims and perpetrators.

Within a gendered approach, I adopt what I call a dual theoretical framework of 'commonality and difference'. I adapt the ideas of Sen (2005) and Dustin and Phillips (2008) to argue that some cases of honour-based abuse reported to the police and victims' NGOs are substantively the same as other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse; whereas other cases have distinctive elements which set them apart in nature and may represent a case for differential treatment in definition and policy.

Research questions and design

This study addresses an empirical knowledge gap around who and what is associated with cases of honour-based abuse in England and Wales as reported to the police and supported by victims' NGOs. In particular, who is doing what to whom, what honour-based abuse involves other than specific acts such as forced marriage, and how (if at all) it differs from other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse.

The research questions (within the context of cases with police and NGO contact) were:

1. What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve?
2. How does forced marriage relate to honour-based abuse?
3. Should honour-based abuse be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse?
4. What are the implications for national policy and definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage?

The research design for this study was primarily quantitative; however, it also included descriptive thematic analysis of groups of case summaries from the 162 records extracted from the police, S01 and S02 data collection sites. These case summaries were compared and contrasted to explore patterns between cases sharing certain key variables (e.g. female victims). The patterns which emerged were then tested on the full dataset of 1,474 cases using quantitative analysis comprising descriptive statistics, Pearson's chi-squares statistic, and logistic regression.

The study comprised:

1. Descriptive thematic analysis of case summaries from 162 case files from three sites: one police force in SW England, one victim's NGO in the East Midlands and another in North West England;
2. Quantitative analysis of a combined dataset of 1,474 case files from the police force and two victims' NGOs, and a pre-coded dataset of 1,312 victim case profiles from a national domestic abuse charity (SafeLives 'Insights').

Prior research within the gender-based violence field has used criminal justice case file analysis methodology to examine the nature of rape, domestic violence and murder, and similarly to develop case typologies (e.g. Dobash and Dobash, 2015; Hester, 2013a). However, typically research in the field of honour-based abuse has either employed qualitative methods (interviews or focus group discussions with victims or communities), or has taken the form of theoretical discussions around the meaning of honour and/or the relationship of honour-based abuse to other forms of gendered violence. Empirical studies which examine larger numbers of real-life cases to compare types of abuse—as this study does—are rare.

Significance of this research

In this thesis I argue—and provide new empirical evidence—that honour-based abuse in England and Wales has become artificially separated from other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse. Inadequate definitions, limited empirical data, and a lack of scrutiny of identified cases has led to some (mis) identification of some intimate partner abuse amongst BME individuals and certain communities as honour-based, when in fact the nature,

profile and risk factors of many cases are substantially the same as 'standard' domestic abuse. Whilst this can have positive applications (for instance, increasing front-line professionals' awareness to look for signs of honour-based abuse), it risks playing into racist, sensationalising or 'othering' stereotypes. On the other hand, I argue, there is a distinct group of cases, containing specific victim, perpetrator and abuse characteristics, which can be seen as different in nature to other domestic and intimate partner abuse.

These conclusions flow from my development of a new typology of honour-based abuse cases (known to police and victims' NGOs), which I develop based on the relationship(s) of the victim and perpetrator, the number of perpetrators, the profile characteristics of the individuals involved, and the nature of the abuse. The three types are:

- *Type I (Partner abuse)*: Abuse from a single perpetrator only, who is a current or former intimate partner. In some cases, the profile looks identical to other, non-honour related domestic abuse (*Type Ia*); in other cases the partner uses honour/shame as an explicit tool of controlling the victim (*Type Ib*). Sometimes, but not always, these cases involve implicit pressure from wider family members on the victim to stay in an unwanted relationship;
- *Type II (Family abuse)*: Abuse from the victim's family members, usually their natal family. This often explicitly involves honour/shame discourse around the expected behaviour of the victim. It is more likely than the other types to involve forced marriage;
- *Type III (Partner plus family abuse)*: Abuse from a current or former intimate partner and also from family members, usually the victim's in-laws. In this type, where honour is explicitly mentioned, it mainly relates to the potential dishonour of (often immigrant) wives leaving their husband/in-laws and returning home.

Whilst all three types should be viewed as specific forms of gender-based violence, *Types I* and *III* can also be seen as forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse; whereas an argument can be made to define and respond to *Type II* differently in policy terms. However, until further research is carried out to validate and further test my proposed typology, I suggest that the three types continue, for now, to be conceptualised together as honour-based abuse. To this end, I propose a revised policy definition of honour-based abuse, which

incorporates the types, and better represents what this study has shown about the nature of this abuse in England and Wales.

The advancement of new empirical data to address the knowledge gap around who and what characterise cases of honour-based abuse in England and Wales, the development and testing of a typology of abuse, and the proposal of a new definition, makes this study a unique and original contribution to knowledge.

Structure of this thesis

Chapters 2 to 4 set the scene and overview the existing literature: Chapter 2 sets out core definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage, and reviews key debates about conceptualisation, including how they may be similar or different from other forms of gendered violence. Chapter 3 describes what is known from prior data and studies about the nature and scale of honour-based abuse: who and what is involved, and where it occurs. Chapter 4 profiles government responses, mapping them against key conceptual approaches. Chapter 5 establishes the methodological approaches adopted in this study, critiquing and explaining why decisions were made and key ethical and methodological challenges.

Chapters 6 to 8 outline the findings: Chapters 6 and 7 describe who are the people in the datasets (victims and perpetrators), and what is the nature of the abuse—this is mainly through a descriptive analysis of the case files, but also sets out key descriptive statistics for each of the four datasets used. Chapter 8 presents the results of quantitative analysis (Pearson’s chi-square tests for associations, and logistic regression), profiling the similarities and differences between the three types of honour-based abuse which emerged from analysis in chapters 6 and 7, and testing the strength of their associations. Finally, chapter 9 brings the findings together in a discussion, relates them back to the research questions, and proposes a revised definition of honour-based abuse in the context of England and Wales. It shows the original contribution to knowledge made by this thesis, identifies some limitations, and points to fruitful future research.

Chapter 2: Definitions and Debates: conceptual and theoretical frameworks

Introduction

This chapter sets out key definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage used by the Government, academics, charities and criminal justice agencies. It identifies variation between definitions, and pinpoints key characteristics of honour-based abuse which may differentiate it from other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse. One of these is the greater involvement of women in perpetrating abuse—a discussion of explanations for female involvement in honour-based abuse is therefore crucial. The review of definitions provides a frame of reference for interpretation of the findings of this study. Thus, the findings can be compared back to this review to answer research question 1 (who and what is involved), and research question 4 (what are the implications for definitions and policy).

Key conceptual debates are then rehearsed about what honour-based abuse is, why it happens, and how it should be understood in relation to other forms of violence and abuse. As much of the definitional debate on honour-based abuse in England and Wales has been based on theoretical rather than empirical work, understanding the different conceptual framings is vital to be able to answer the second and third research questions about how honour-based abuse relates to forced marriage, and to other domestic and intimate partner abuse.

A note on terminology and language

The terms ‘(so-called) honour-based violence’ or ‘honour crimes’ tend to be used interchangeably in the literature and policy. Siddiqui (2014) rejects ‘honour crimes’ as being too narrow—not least because this suggests a specific form of violence, when what is more properly being described is a ‘motive’ for violence; but also because the abuse may not involve criminal offences.

As many have cogently argued, there is no ‘honour’ in these acts (Gill, 2009; Parliament. House of Commons, 2008a; NPCC, 2015) and there are good arguments to be made for reclaiming the term. Recognising that, I nevertheless use the term ‘honour’ in this thesis as it has common currency in literature and policy. I would argue—in common with domestic

violence debates—that honour-based violence rarely is only physical and in fact encompasses a range of coercive and other abusive acts. So, I use the term ‘honour-based abuse’. Since much of the literature and policy uses ‘honour-based violence’, however, where citing others I will continue to use this term.

The concept and language of 'honour' in different communities is often itself dichotomous. “It is a symbolic and rhetorical construct, the meaning of which is constantly contested as it carries different connotations in different cultural and linguistic settings...for instance, the Urdu word *izzat*, often translated into English simply as ‘honour’, refers to a wide spectrum of socio-cultural relationships and ties that bind family and community groups together” (Gill, 2014, p.2). ‘Honour’ is also an imperfect translation of the two Turkish words, *namus*, and *sharaf* which each relate to polarised gender characteristics, the former linked to a notion of ‘female honour’ and the latter one of ‘male honour’.

In this study I use the term ‘victim’ as a word to describe the person who is experiencing the abuse, acknowledging that there are debates around the desirability of the word ‘victim’ in relation to domestic and other forms of gender-based violence [Kelly, 1988].

Definitions of honour

A principle of social organisation

Honour as a social principle, codified to govern the behaviour of individuals or communities, is evident in many societies across time and place. A notion of personal honour, subject to injury, was writ large in Early Modern European societies, exemplified in duels in England between gentlemen whose honour was perceived besmirched (Banks, 2008). Anthropological research in the 1960s identified complex honour codes across Mediterranean societies. Peristiany (1965) and Pitt-Rivers (1965) described honour and shame as reciprocal moral values which governed the integration of individuals to groups, and resulted in conferral of public esteem upon a person. Pitt-Rivers argued that honour is made up of three elements: “a sentiment, a manifestation of this sentiment in conduct, and the evaluation of this conduct in others” (Pitt-Rivers, 1971, p.21).

The specific focus of this study will be honour codes which directly relate to the social or sexual honour of a community's women, the control of that honour by its men, and behaviours or practices which stem from such codes, often described as 'honour-based violence/abuse', at the extreme end of which lie so-called 'honour killings'. In the national context, this sexualised notion of honour and associated abuses is linked with particular minority communities. These are principally South Asian, in particular Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian; but also involve Middle Eastern and Arab communities (including Syrian, Afghan, Turkish, Iranian, Kurdish) and some North African communities (e.g. Egyptian).

Honour, women and social control

The concept of socialised or sexualised honour takes as its basic currency the "shame" of women in the form of female sexual chastity (Gilmore, 1987). Brandon and Hafez expand this notion to describe such honour as "ideas that the reputation and social standing of an individual, a family, or a community is based on the behaviour and morality of its female members" (Brandon and Hafez, 2008, pp.3-7). They define some of the words used in different languages and cultures to describe these concepts:

Ird (Arab countries) expresses how the honour of a man, family or community is vested in their women. A woman is born with *ird*, which is best understood as sexual purity. Once it is taken away or damaged it cannot be restored. However unlike virginity, a woman retains her *ird* after marriage. *Ird* is voided by sexual conduct which the community deems to be wrong or which transgresses traditional standards of behaviour.

Izzat (India and Pakistan) usually refers to the collective honour of a family, community or even a country. The behaviour of this group's women is seen as one of the main threats to *izzat*.

Namus (Turkey, Kurdistan and Iran) describes how the honour of men or of a family is dependent on their females [primarily through their sexual purity].

Namuse laf gelmek translates as other people's gossip about one's *namus*—a possible pretext for violence.

The fact that men expect women (and children, for whom the women are responsible) to demonstrate and uphold family honour through their conduct, and are prepared to enforce or punish perceived failures to do so, suggests that the notion of honour is actually one of male honour, just that its manifestation is vested in the women. Men in the community also are expected to follow codes of behaviour relating to honour (and shame), but in reality can 'get away with' less strict adherence to them (Brandon and Hafez, 2008).

Brandon and Hafez note that, in the Arab world, *sharaf* denotes a man's sense of honour and self-worth. But whereas the concepts about women are passive and static (it is a commodity present at birth and possible to lose but not to (re)gain), those relating to men are active and can be accumulated. The International Campaign Against Honour Killings notes that these masculine forms of honour 'can be increased or decreased through active participation and competition in community life' (International Campaign Against Honour Killings, www.stophonourkillings.com, no date).

What are the implications of honour codes for women living with them in communities in the UK? The South Asian women in the UK involved in research by Gilbert *et al* (2004) described *izzat* as a learnt, complex set of rules an individual follows to protect the family, caste or tribal honour and keep his/her position in the community. Descriptions of the all-pervasive way in which socialised honour codes can explicitly and implicitly control daily life for women are echoed in accounts from survivors of honour-based abuse. Some describe close control of their movement, sexual freedom and dress, mannerisms and behaviour (Sanghera, 2007). So, socialised honour belongs to women and is theirs from birth to safeguard or to lose.

Definitions of honour-based abuse

There remain different views about how honour-based abuse should be defined and classified (Roberts *et al*, 2014), although there is more agreement about the definition of forced marriage (Siddiqui, 2014), which now has a statutory definition. The following sections outline

some of the key definitions and descriptions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage proposed by (a) the Government and statutory agencies, and (b) academics and NGOs. I suggest that these form two distinct types of definition: the first are more akin to legal definitions in their framing, are high-level and aim to classify a range of abuses under umbrella terms: I refer to these as policy definitions. The second are more descriptive, often (though not always) drawing on empirical research to outline key features of who and what is involved in the abuse: I refer to these as features-based definitions. The latter sometimes include explicit mention of how honour-based abuse is different to other forms of domestic abuse.

Government and statutory agencies: policy definitions

There is currently no statutory definition of honour-based violence or abuse in England and Wales. The Government and Crown Prosecution Service (CPS) follow a common definition of honour-based violence as “a crime or incident which has, or may have been, committed to protect or defend the honour of the family and/or community”. The police (via the National Police Chiefs’ Council, NPCC) since 2015 have moved to calling it ‘honour-based abuse’ (rather than violence) and have adopted a slightly expanded definition (my italics): “an incident or crime *involving violence, threats of violence, intimidation, coercion or abuse (including psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional abuse)*, which has or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour of an *individual*, family or community *for alleged or perceived breaches of the family and/or community’s code of behavior*” (NPCC, 2015, p.5). It is worth noting that this adds protection of an individual’s honour to that of the family and community as a motive for abuse.

In addition to these definitions, both the CPS and the government’s Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) provide further descriptions about what honour-based violence involves. In its guidance to prosecutors, the CPS states (Crown Prosecution Service, http://www.cps.gov.uk/legal/h_to_k/honour_based_violence_and_forced_marriage/, no date):

a collection of practices, which are used to control behaviour within families or other social groups to protect perceived cultural and religious beliefs and/or honour. Such violence can occur when perpetrators perceive that a relative

has shamed the family and / or community by breaking their honour code.

Women are predominantly (but not exclusively) the victims of 'so called honour based violence', which is used to assert male power in order to control female autonomy and sexuality. "Honour Based Violence" can be distinguished from other forms of violence, as it is often committed with some degree of approval and/or collusion from family and/or community members.

Government guidance to statutory agencies for responding to honour-based abuse states:

The terms "honour crime" or "honour-based violence" or "izzat" embrace a variety of crimes of violence (mainly but not exclusively against women), including assault, imprisonment and murder where the person is being punished by their family or their community. They are being punished for actually, or allegedly, undermining what the family or community believes to be the correct code of behaviour. In transgressing this correct code of behaviour, the person shows that they have not been properly controlled to conform by their family and this is to the "shame" or "dishonour" of the family. It can be distinguished from other forms of abuse, as it is often committed with some degree of approval and/or collusion from family and/ community members. Victims will have multiple perpetrators not only in the UK; HBV can be a trigger for a forced marriage (HMG, 2014a, p.3).

Academics and NGOs: features-based definitions

Honour crimes are defined by Welchman and Hossain as "a variety of manifestations of violence against women, including 'honour killings', assault, confinement or imprisonment, and interference with choice in marriage, where the publicly articulated 'justification' is attributed to a social order claimed to require the preservation of a concept of 'honour' vested in male (family and/or conjugal) control over women and specifically women's sexual conduct: actual, suspected or potential" (Welchman and Hossain, 2005, p.4).

Begikhani *et al* define honour-based abuse as: "Generally understood as consisting of a variety of forms of intimate violence committed most commonly against (young) women (and

some men) by uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands, and other male (and sometimes female) relatives. It generally involves a premeditated act aimed at restoring lost or threatened 'honour', as constructed by the family and wider community. HBV is usually differentiated from other forms of domestic and gendered violence on the basis that it occurs within a framework of collective family and community structures" (Begikhani et al, 2015, p.4).

Sen proposes a definition of 'crimes of honour' and the identification of key features of these abuses: "crimes of honour are actions that remove from a collectivity the stain of dishonor, both gendered and locally defined, through the use of emotional, social or physical coercion over a person whose actual or imputed actions have brought that dishonor; physical force may involve killing the transgressor of the code of honour" (Sen, 2005, p.50). She suggests that honour-based abuse is characterised by six key elements which in combination, she suggests, identify the particularity of crimes of honour:

- Gender relations that problematize and control women's behaviours, shaping and controlling women's sexuality in particular;
- The role of women in policing and monitoring women's behaviour;
- Collective decisions regarding punishment, or in upholding the actions considered appropriate, for transgressions of these boundaries;
- The potential for women's participation in killings;
- The ability to reclaim honour through enforced compliance or killings; and
- State sanction of such killings through recognition of honour as motivation and mitigation (Sen, 2005, p.50).

The International HBV Awareness Network defines 'honour' killings as "the ultimate sanction against a woman who has deemed to have offended collective morality may be a highly organised and premeditated crime, decided upon through a collective decision-making process involving a family 'council' meeting, in which the murder is planned to the last detail; alternatively, it may also be less organised, but still be supported by a wider collective than the apparent perpetrator". It adds that "families may deploy a strategy of forcing women to kill themselves, to remain technically innocent of murder" (International HBV Awareness Network, <http://www.hbv-awareness.com>, no date).

UK charity Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) defines honour-based abuse as a form of violence against women in which "families may collaborate to commit violence against a relative who is thought to have violated the restrictions around female behaviour. Such violations might include dress or make-up which is not approved by the family, resisting an arranged marriage, seeking divorce, reporting domestic violence and some so-called offences may appear trivial" (*Honour-based violence*, 2013).

Challenges in defining honour-based abuse

From a policy and practice point of view, nationally, honour-based abuse has been clearly defined. Whilst there is no statutory definition, a core common definition exists amongst government, police and other statutory agencies, which is shared by voluntary agencies and practitioners. What is less easy is reaching a definition that distinguishes it from other forms of family or interpersonal violence or abuse. It is possible to describe particular acts as being motivated by honour, or to list some of the particular risk factors (e.g. elevated risk from collusion between multiple perpetrators) or observed 'triggers' for abuse (e.g. dressing 'western', having a boyfriend etc) or warning signs (e.g. disappearance from school, forced marriage). And, since the term honour-based abuse describes the motivation behind a potentially varied set of actions or range of criminal offences, rather than a specific outcome, crime or act in itself, that makes it harder to define exactly who or what counts as honour-based abuse.

But some key issues arise. Should honour-based abuse be restricted only to 'honour killings' or forced marriages, or just to criminal offences, or must there always be identifiable features such as multiple perpetrators, or explicit pre-planning such as an identifiable family council? Considering murders alone would make it easy to define what is 'in' and 'out' of the population or sample, but likely to represent only the extreme end of a spectrum of abuse. On the other hand, should any act of family control or disagreement with (for example) a teenage daughter in (for example) a South Asian family be seen as honour-based abuse? A definition which makes it possible to delineate a 'case' of honour-based abuse is important in being able to sample and study it; but it proves elusive.

Defining a category of abuse by its motivation rather than its manifestation in particular acts or practices is complex and perhaps distracting. Oldenburg (2002) has shown this in relation to dowry murder, arguing that defining a crime based on the (stated or understood) motivations of the perpetrator(s) is misleading and can risk obscuring both the acts involved and the actual underlying causes. Definitions based on motivation are also at odds with other forms of abuse. For instance, the collective term “domestic violence” encompasses a collection of acts comprising physical/sexual/emotional abuse, but is described by its characteristics, not motivations. The new national law around coercive control (*Serious Crime Act 2015*, which came into force December 2015) is perhaps a partial step towards recognising intent behind a pattern of abuse in law – whilst it does not focus solely on the motivations of perpetrators, it does have a clearer emphasis on intending harm and control. Such challenges may explain why to date much honour-based abuse research has focused on conceptual debates or, where empirical, on specific forms of abuse such as forced marriage or ‘honour killings’.

In national policy, honour-based abuse is often closely associated with forced marriage and female genital mutilation (FGM). The latest example of this was the 2015 HMIC inspection of the police response to HBV, which included forced marriage and FGM within the same thematic inspection. The NPCC 2015 strategy on honour-based abuse also states that it includes both forced marriage and FGM (NPCC, 2015). My initial discussions with seven police forces—along with informal discussions with some victims’ agencies—showed that, more than being conceived of together, these issues are often conflated or talked about interchangeably amongst police and other front-line professionals. For instance, several operational leads for domestic abuse/HBV with whom I held preliminary meetings only referred to forced marriage and FGM cases in responding to questions around HBV. In the following two sections I set out common definitions of forced marriage and FGM, and discuss whether they should be seen as honour-based abuse—in general terms, and specifically for the scope of this study.

Forced marriage—definitions and challenges

Definitions

The Government defines forced marriage as: “a marriage in which one or both spouses do not consent to the marriage but are coerced into it. Duress can include physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure. In the cases of some vulnerable adults who lack the capacity to consent, coercion is not required for a marriage to be forced” (HMG, 2014a, p.5).

Hester *et al* propose that, in an arranged marriage the parties “delegate their right to choose to their families”, whereas in a forced marriage they have “no right to choose” (Hester *et al*, 2008, p.29). However, they rightly point to difficulties in practice distinguishing between some arranged and forced marriages, whilst noting that it is politically important for a clear ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ distinction to be made between the two forms. They identified issues in differentiating between forced and arranged marriages and around related questions of coercion and consent. They found difficulties with the notion of ‘force’, with many victims/survivors and community members not recognising the language of force, even when they themselves had been coerced into an unwanted marriage. They note the word ‘force’ may be equated by victims only with physical force, and therefore emotional or psychological duress may not be recognised; also that there can be ‘slippage’ around consent along the spectrum from an arranged to a forced marriage, questioning what consent means in cultures where expectations may be long-established around marriage (Hester *et al*, 2008, p.10). Chantler *et al* (2009) discuss the meaning of consent and how women’s ability to consent can be mediated by circumstances such as poverty. Dustin and Phillips (2008) similarly identify a ‘grey area’ between arranged and forced marriages.

It has been argued that forced marriage is principally seen as a question around the point of entry to a marriage; whereas the lack of exit options for women, particularly when constrained by other vulnerabilities such as insecure immigration status and poverty, or cultural pressures from shame or dishonour associated with divorce or separation, should also be seen as elements of duress which can trap women in unwanted marriages. Interviews with victims of forced marriage elicited the suggestion that such an inability to escape should also be conceptualised as part of forced marriage (Gangoli *et al*, 2011; Hester *et al*, 2008; Chantler *et al*, 2009).

There are measurement challenges around the point at which a forced marriage can be positively identified. Hester *et al* (2008) raise the question of whether it should be flagged when someone raises concerns that they may be forced to marry, or only when a marriage has taken place. Kazimirski *et al* found that 62% of the cases of forced marriage the study identified were threats or suspicion of a marriage to come, and 38% had already happened (Kazimirski *et al*, 2009, p.2). That two-thirds related to marriages that had not already taken place shows the importance to risk assessment and intervention of spotting the warning signs early. However, that one-third had already happened illustrates the point made by Hester *et al* (2008) that looking at exit options and barriers to exit from forced marriages are a vital (and overlooked) part of a good response.

Forced marriage and honour-based abuse

Gill (2011) notes that forced marriage and FGM are often conceptualised together with other honour-based abuses such as honour killings, forced virginity, forced abortion and forced hymen repair. However, there is some debate over the extent to which these two specific forms of abuse are linked to honour. Some have argued that forced marriage is always linked to honour. IKWRO, in written evidence to the Home Affairs Select Committee inquiry, argued that: “there is an absolute correlation between the crime of forced marriage and crimes committed in the name of ‘honour’. In cultures where marriages are conducted between families, and where women are valued for their capacities for domestic labour and childbearing above all others, submission and chastity become the essential of a woman’s worth in life. It is precisely the nature of marriage as a transaction between families that creates the condition of ‘shame’ for a family suspected of passing on unacceptable merchandise. Forced marriage is often in itself an honour crime, used as a punishment for girls who defy parental authority and as a means to increase masculine control over a woman” (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008b, Ev 291).

However, Chantler reviewed six empirical studies available at the time on forced marriage and noted that half (three studies) did not restrict understanding of forced marriage to the “sole domain of the cultural”; in other words, that forced marriage was not only associated with culture and honour (Chantler, 2012, p.178).

As well as forced marriage which occurs in the context of honour-based abuse, a range of other routes into it have been identified. These include poverty (Chantler *et al*, 2009), bride price (Hester *et al*, 2008), child marriage, ‘correcting’ sexuality, (Gangoli *et al*, 2011; Chantler *et al*, 2009), a means of securing care for disabled relatives (HMG, 2014a), ensuring protection for widows (HMIC, 2015), ensuring land, property and wealth remain within a family (HMG 2014a), assisting claims for UK residence and citizenship (HMG, 2014a), and viewing it as a product of immigration (Phillips and Dustin, 2004). The recent HMIC inspection recognised that some cases of forced marriage do not amount to HBV (HMIC, 2015).

One critique of eliding forced marriage—and other forms of abuse such as FGM—with honour-based abuse is that “there is a risk here that ‘honour’ will become the shorthand term for all forms of domestic violence and child abuse within minority ethnic communities, with every incident reported as such in the media, and treated as such by the police—and there is some evidence of this happening, certainly as regards media reports” (Dustin and Phillips 2008, pp.15-16). Siddiqui identifies this risk of developing a “‘parallel universe’ where all forms of violence against BME women are collapsed into HBV” (Siddiqui, 2014, p.45). However, this raises an interesting debate about the extent to which honour could be interpreted as a pervasive influence which mediates many other issues or forms of abuse for BME women. For example, it might be that in cases of domestic abuse in which honour is not overtly or explicitly a factor, underlying codes or expectations of honour and shame still mediate women’s experiences of the abuse (Hester *et al*, 2015).

There is not decisive evidence about what proportion of forced marriages relate to each of these different ‘motives’, nor necessarily agreement about which ‘motives’ relate to honour and which do not. For example, individual justifications such as ‘correcting sexuality’ or ‘western behaviour’ may in fact be associated with correcting a perceived dishonour, whereas motives such as securing care for a disabled relative might be more clearly not linked to it. Similarly, more than one ‘motive’ might operate in each case. Of interest to this study is the relationship of forced marriage to honour-based abuse. The HMIC inspection reported numbers of HBV and forced marriage-flagged incidents reported to police, but did not specify the degree of overlap between the two. (HMIC, 2015). Thus, whilst both HMIC and CPS data

show there are consistently more HBV than forced marriage incidents/crimes at every level in the CJS, they do not offer an assessment of the overlap.

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM)—definitions and challenges

Relationship of FGM to honour-based abuse

The Government defines FGM as “all procedures involving partial or total removal of the external female genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons.” (HMG, 2014b, p.8). FGM is frequently grouped together with honour-based abuse and forced marriage in government, police and agencies’ policies (e.g. HMIC, 2015). FGM is linked to honour in several ways. Some women and girls who have rejected FGM have been ostracised by their family or community and subjected to honour-based abuse (HMG, 2014b, p.12). It is sometimes talked about in a context of honour and shame, with the practice strongly associated with increased social status, attractiveness, ‘purity’ and marriageability for girls and women (HMG, 2014b, pp.11-12). In this sense, it is argued that it is a form of violence against women and girls arising from patriarchal cultures, as well as a form of child abuse (Burrage, 2015, p.13). Gill argues that, with FGM, “as in other cases of HBV, a cultural tradition is used to justify violence against women” (Gill, 2014, p.220).

However, Burrage (2015, p.14) notes that there are also complexities in linking FGM to honour, including that these abuses often occur at different ages, and that ‘honour’ killings are not usually associated with communities in which FGM is practiced. Other (non-honour related) motives and justifications have been advanced for FGM, including it being a rite of passage, giving a girl and her family a sense of belonging to the community, helping girls and women to be clean and hygienic, and ridding the family of bad luck or evil spirits (HMG, 2014b, p.11).

FGM—Out of scope for this study

FGM is a significant topic for study by itself. For the following five reasons, I propose to put it out of scope for this study. First, the literature suggests that, whilst in aspects to do with motivation and the meaning of the act FGM can be linked to notions of honour—in particular,

notions about women's chastity, purity and marriageability—the act has in some ways become an end in itself, rather than being linked to an ongoing pattern of abuse (Burrage, 2015).

Second, the public agencies which identify and respond to FGM in this country (primarily health, education and children's services) are on the whole different to those which respond to forced marriage and honour-based abuse (the police, voluntary and statutory victims' and womens' groups). This means that the police records on FGM are less rich (this assumption was evidenced during the data collection phase of this study), but also that few, if any, cases proceed down a criminal justice (rather than safeguarding) route at all, even if they are known to the police. The data collection stages of this study showed that (a) the process for flagging honour-based abuse cases in both site S01 and S02 did not include FGM, and (b) the Insights data did not capture FGM. In both cases this is likely to reflect the fact that, although they may well support adults who have undergone FGM in the past, those who are at risk of FGM tend to be younger girls and therefore outside the scope of these victims' NGOs who work with those over 16 years old.

Third, FGM tends to happen to much younger girls than other forms of honour-based abuse (including forced marriage). Therefore, for a study examining victim and perpetrator profiles with an eye on policy and interventions, including a quite different demographic of victim is less relevant or comparable.

Fourth, a brief examination of the 24 police cases in this study involving FGM highlighted a number of points of difference from the other (non-FGM) cases. As well as victim age, these included: no involvement of an intimate partner; less clarity over whether abusive acts had taken place or there was only suspicion from a professional; cases tended to have a joint agency response, in which often the police role was secondary and tended to be limited to words of advice/information; the countries and cultures associated with the abuse, and the relationship with the alleged perpetrator(s), were different in nature. Overall, the FGM cases appeared quite distinct, with little cross-over with other forms of honour-based abuse or forced marriage or intimate partner violence.

Fifth, in policy terms we already know quite a bit about what and who FGM involves, and there exist specific laws to combat it. There are specific definitions, descriptions and

understandings about what the act involves. The purpose of this study to unpick something more about what honour-based abuse is (with and without forced marriage), precisely because we currently know little about this. There is not such a need to do the same with FGM.

For these reasons, I propose to exclude FGM from the scope of this study, and set aside the 24 FGM cases from the police dataset.

Defining honour-based abuse for this study

This study examines empirical data on cases with police and victims' NGO involvement in England and Wales which have been identified as honour-based abuse. Inherently then, the definitions used by those agencies who have collected the data will be key, and I therefore resist devising my own definition of honour-based abuse at this point. However, I wish to compare the case data to some of the different definitions of honour-based abuse which have been advanced, to see whether and how cases being identified in England and Wales relate to these different definitions. So, I will draw on both 'policy definitions'—those adopted by the Government and statutory agencies—and on 'features-based definitions' from academics and NGOs in discussing and interpreting the findings.

Conceptualising honour-based abuse: theories about what drives it and how to frame it

Introduction

This section reviews conceptual frameworks which have been advanced to explain why honour-based abuse and forced marriage occur. Some of the theoretical and empirical work is concerned with honour-based abuse, some with forced marriage, and some with both. Where a framing relates to one or other form only, this is specified. Two main overarching frameworks exist. First, honour-based abuse has been seen as primarily a 'cultural' issue, arising only in certain communities and cultures (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008b; Brandon and Hafez, 2008). This has been seen as problematic, especially in terms of 'othering' and scapegoating particular BME communities. Second, it has been seen as one of many forms of gender-based violence. Some different approaches have been proposed to frame honour-based abuse across and between culture and gender, including the use of human

rights frameworks (Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010; Patel and Siddiqui, 2010), and intersectional approaches (Crenshaw, 1991; Yuval-Davis, 1997). Key debates relating to culture and gender are rehearsed in the following sections, and I then set out the approach that will guide this study. But first, I briefly discuss the frequent association in the public mind between honour-based abuse and Islam.

Religion—a ‘Muslim problem’?

This study does not focus in depth on the links between religion and honour-based abuse, and the data collected on religion are poor and not analysed in any detail, so a review of the substantial literature in this area is not conducted. However, because a link is frequently made in the media and popular culture between honour-based abuse and Muslim communities (Gill, 2012; Samad and Eade, 2002), a brief overview is pertinent of the religions or faiths found in empirical studies to be associated with honour-based abuse.

Successive governments have emphasised that honour-based abuse and forced marriage are not intrinsically linked to any one religion or faith (HMG, 2014a). Worldwide, there is ample evidence that honour codes relating to women’s sexual honour have been practised in societies of different religious hues including Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Sikh and others (Dustin and Phillips 2008). Brandes (1987) argued that the three Abrahamic religions—Christianity, Islam and Judaism—all contributed to societal codes of male dominance and female chastity by “providing scriptural justification to male dominance and patriarchy: under their influence, female sexuality could be domesticated, tamed”. Recent studies in the UK have found that honour-based abuse occurs in societies and families with many different religions or faiths, and none, including Sikh, Hindu, Catholic, Atheist and Zoroastrian (Hester *et al*, 2008).

The popular association of honour-based abuse with Muslim communities has been particularly strong in this country due to the prevalence of large diaspora communities from predominantly Muslim countries (in particular, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Turkey), the emergence of cases of honour-based abuse, particularly involving forced marriage, amongst these communities, and their coverage in the media (Roberts *et al*, 2014). It has been

exacerbated by some extreme cases of honour killings in the UK which have largely occurred amongst Turkish and Kurdish Muslim communities.

The link is likely self-perpetuating: if the public, media and front-line professionals identify honour-based abuse with Muslim communities, they are more likely to badge violence in these communities as 'honour'-based. It is also potentially harmful, both conceptually, in fanning the flames of general 'anti-Muslim' sentiment, and practically, in locating honour-based abuse as a 'Muslim' or 'other' problem, rather than what it is: one form of abuse of human rights and women's rights (Sen, 2005; Gill, 2012).

The fact that honour-based abuse has been repeatedly documented in both Muslim and non-Muslim communities suggest that a more pertinent question might be whether there is an association between honour codes and conservative religious societies, of whatever hue. Siddiqui notes that "notions of 'shame' and 'honour' are strong and influential in tight-knit minority communities propped up by orthodox and conservative cultural and religious values" (Siddiqui, 2005, pp.265–274). She adds weight to the suggestion that it may be the culturally conservative nature of certain communities, rather than their religion *per se*, which engenders honour-based abuse.

Cultural framings

Distinguishing religion and culture

Several authors have shown that religion and culture can become elided in the ways in which they underpin gendered inequality or violence, and it can be hard to attribute practices such as honour-based abuse to one or the other. Samad and Eade note that the "dichotomy between culture and religion has been eroded over the last twenty years in some South Asian countries", arguing that practices which discriminate against women should be more accurately attributed to misogynistic cultural practices than to religious tenets (Samad and Eade, 2002, p.58).

Aghtaie argues, in the context of Islam, that the ways in which religion is appropriated to underpin cultural violence are complex. She shows that religious beliefs can become incorporated into cultural beliefs, creating cultural violence which legitimizes or justifies

structural violence. Individuals' personal perspectives on religion and cultural norms further mediate their views and perceptions of what constitutes violence (Aghtaie, 2015). Her work illustrates the difficulties with distinguishing religion from culture as a context or justification for certain views or practices relating to women and men.

'Cultural' explanations

A major theme within discourse on honour-based abuse and forced marriage nationally (and internationally) is around whether it can be deemed 'cultural', i.e. attributed to a notion of 'culture' and associated with particular cultures which 'practice' honour codes. National policy-makers clearly attribute these practices to cultural practices, though they are careful not to brand them as exclusive to specific cultures. For example, the National Police Chiefs' Council states "honour-based abuse is a cultural and not a religious phenomenon" (NPCC, 2015, p.18). Culture, in itself, is a slippery concept (Yuval-Davis 1997). Williams defines it as "a particular way of life, whether of people, a period or a group" (Williams, 1983, p.90), and Giddens expands that in societies, a way of life is composed of "the values the members of a given group hold, the norms they follow and the material goods they create" (Giddens, 1989, p.31). Yuval-Davis (1997) argues that the concept of culture has had a problematic history. She questions whether culture is universalist—one generic human culture where different groups hold different ranks according to their 'stage of development'; or relativist—different civilisations have different cultures, to be understood on their own terms. Recent theorists have argued that cultures are not static, but dynamic social processes in which different perspectives dominate at different times (Bottomley, 1992). Yuval-Davis has suggested that women often carry "the burden of representation", namely, women often are portrayed as embodying cultural ideals in different societies. She argues that women are the "cultural reproducers" of the nation, given the task of "guardians of 'culture'" and being responsible for transmitting culture to their children (Yuval-Davis, 1997, p.116).

Some women's groups have argued for a cultural interpretation of honour-based abuse and forced marriage, whilst situating these practices in a broader context of gendered inequality and violence against women. For example, the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation has argued that it is "the culmination of an ideology of male dominance [...] the independence of [the] younger [generation] clashes with the cultural conservatism of elders

who wish to maintain dominance”, which leads to intergenerational conflict (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008b, Ev 289-290). Other feminist writers have strongly challenged a ‘cultural’ explanation. Dustin and Phillips (2008) argue that cultural explanations “presume an extraordinary degree of homogeneity within the cultural group” and, also, deny individual agency. They critique such explanations as ordering cultures “along an axis of backward to progressive, with minority or non-European cultures cast in the lesser role”. Others have argued that seeing honour-based abuse as an issue of culture privileges culture over gender as a defining characteristic, thereby side-lining and minimising the critical concept of unequal gender power relations (Okin, 1999). Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2010) assert that seeing these abuses only as problems between communities, or of specific cultures, rather than *within* communities, privileges ethnicity over gender and cultural rights over human rights. Sen notes that “making culture the divisor also renders those who inhabit the culture under scrutiny problematic *per se*, and suggests that their salvation lies in abandoning this culture” (Sen, 2005, p.62). Gangoli *et al* (2006) identified that one justification sometimes advanced for forced marriage is a “misuse or misinterpretation of cultural values”, and Gangoli *et al* (2011) identified a “clash of cultures”, where victims/survivors they interviewed believed that forced marriage in the UK was the result of immigrant parents fearing the ‘westernisation’ of their children and the loss of cultural identity (Gangoli *et al*, 2006, p.13; Gangoli *et al*, 2011, p.37).

“Mature multiculturalism” and human rights

Patel and Siddiqui (2010) and Siddiqui (2014) have argued for adoption of a ‘mature multiculturalism’ which challenges racial stereotypes and cultural relativism but also allows state intervention under a human rights framework within minority groups to protect victims of abuse.

In the same vein, Gill and Mitra-Kahn develop Phillips’ concept of ‘multiculturalism without culture’. Phillips argues that multiculturalism can work, but it must reject ‘cultural essentialism’ which sees whole cultures as heterogeneous, as well as address inequalities between cultural groups. This could be done, she argues, through a focus on individual rights rather than group rights (Phillips, 2007, pp.8-9). Gill and Mitra-Kahn argue that a framework focused on women’s human rights can put this aim into practice; although they note the

inherent challenge that human rights approaches risk ‘flattening’ the differences between women in the same way that cultural approaches flatten the internal differences within cultures. They advocate a rights-based approach which they argue can help victims “achieve gender equality *within* communities as opposed to merely the ‘right to exit’ those communities” (Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010, p.151).

Immigration

Within cultural framings which see honour-based abuse and forced marriage as ‘bad, other’ or ‘imported’ practices, they are sometimes seen as a product of immigration. Immigration has also been employed by the state to devise policy responses to forced marriage. The former is covered here, the latter in Chapter 4.

Gill and Mitra-Kahn identify one strand of thinking that has viewed forced marriage as resulting from ‘bad’, other places, brought to the UK via immigration (Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010). Siddiqui argues that this approach accuses migrant communities of “importing ‘barbaric’ value systems” to justify such practices. She challenges this approach on three grounds. First, that it assumes that all practices within Britain were liberal, despite the existence of domestic violence, thereby viewing all minority cultures as illiberal. Second, it assumes that minority cultures are “monolithic, static and bounded entities with no internal power divisions”. Third, it ignores the fact that the “primary cause of forced marriage is the control of female sexuality and autonomy” (Siddiqui, 2014, pp.18-24).

Dustin and Phillips (2008) note that forced marriage has become linked with immigration in part because the Government’s Forced Marriage Unit initially worked with cases with an overseas element, i.e. where (mainly) girls were taken overseas to marry. This naturally introduced a focus on international marriage and migration.

Another dimension, identified by Gangoli *et al* is that forced marriage may be a “product of the immigrant experience” rather than an ‘import’ from country of origin (Gangoli *et al*, 2006, p.13). Their study, through interviews with victims in North East England, found examples of the country of origin views about respecting the rights and choices of young people having

‘moved ahead’ whilst the diaspora practices had become more set. This is also noted by Yuval-Davis (1997).

Feminist framings: gender-based violence

A specific form of violence against women

Critics of cultural explanations of honour-based abuse and forced marriage, particularly some Black and South Asian feminists, have identified that, more than culture, what these practices have in common is that their primary cause is “the control of female sexuality and autonomy” (Siddiqui, 2014, p.24). They have argued that the commonality of the cause of these abuses, and the experiences of victims, with other forms of violence against women has been obscured by a focus on culture as the key driver. For instance, rather than focusing on culture, “it is vital to address the fact that VAW is found in all societies where there are unequal gender relations” (Begikhani *et al*, 2015, p.39). Siddiqui argues that honour-based abuse must not be seen as a “parallel universe” where all forms of violence against BME women are “collapsed into or seen through the lens of HBV [honour-based violence]” (Siddiqui, 2014, pp.23-24).

Black and South Asian feminists have argued that, too often, honour-based abuse is exoticised as something belonging to ‘other’ communities, encouraging discriminatory, even racist, attitudes and policies. Siddiqui (2005) notes that virtually every recent death of an Asian or Middle Eastern woman has been labelled as an ‘honour killing’ first, and a domestic homicide second. Thiara and Gill (2010) argue that emphasising culturally specific forms of violence against women plays on the discourse of ‘backward, unassimilated’ communities and is in danger of encouraging racist ‘othering’ discourses. Wilson charts what she terms the ‘failure of multiculturalism’ in the 1980s for South Asian women, as the state promoted ‘ethnicist’ policies, often supporting community groups and leaders who were overwhelmingly male and patriarchal, and described the development of South Asian women’s groups in the 1970s fighting for changes in the structure of power relating to race and class, not only gender (Wilson, 2010).

Feminist writers have contrasted this ‘othering’ of honour-based abuse and forced marriage by highlighting that similarly specific forms of violence against women in ‘mainstream’ white

communities are rarely seen as linked to culture. Gangoli *et al* note that practices such as honour-based abuse and forced marriage are identified as 'harmful traditional practices' and linked to culture, but they contrast this with 'everyday' violence against women in majority ethnic white communities which are not seen in the same way. That honour-based abuse is the only form of gender based violence defined by cultural motivations, they argue, serves to "exoticise and stereotype" BME communities, and "ignore that cultural justifications for VAWG also exist in British and other societies" (Gangoli *et al*, 2011, p.45). Chantler and Gangoli (2011) give the example of date rape which, they argue, is not perceived as a culturally sanctioned, collective, practice, but as an individual act and therefore as a cultural anomaly. However, they question why date rape is seen as individual (not cultural) when it clearly occurs within a cultural (white, mainstream) culture, whereas forced marriage is seen as cultural (not individual) when it occurs within a (non-white, minority) culture.

Within an overall gendered approach, there have also been debates about how to position honour-based abuse and forced marriage *within* gendered frameworks. Gangoli *et al* (2011) note that the VAWG movement has traditionally viewed domestic violence as male violence against women in current or past intimate relationships, and that the Duluth Model of 'power and control' (widely used in national and international practice) is predicated on an intimate partner definition of domestic violence, drawing on male privilege. They identify a challenge raised by Black and Asian feminists to this definition, namely that in communities which commonly live in extended families over several generations, domestic violence can take place both within and outside the intimate relationships. So, they argue, domestic violence as a framework is useful, but may "lead to a partial understanding of the issue" (Gangoli *et al*, 2011).

Siddiqui (2014) deals with this by arguing that honour-based abuse mirrors the dynamics of domestic violence in BME communities which frequently are structured around extended families. She argues that it should be seen as a form of domestic violence in BME families, and placed within the umbrella of domestic violence. Since 2004 (partly in response to her lobbying) the Government definition of domestic violence has included the extended family members (Siddiqui, 2014). Gangoli and Rew have demonstrated that this definition is correct in at least some BME families: they report that between 33% and 40% of domestic violence

cases in India included the wider household, including female relatives (Gangoli and Rew, 2011, p.421).

One approach is to conceptualise honour-based abuse and forced marriage more broadly as part of the 'continuum of violence against women' (Kelly, 1988). This is the approach adopted by the UN, and supported by many feminist writers. For instance, Sen (2005) argues that social and cultural themes that problematize womanhood can be observed across cultures and times, and central to them all is a fear, control or shaping of women's sexuality. Coomaraswamy (2002) argues that honour-based abuse should not be seen as a 'cultural practice', but only as part of a wider spectrum of violence against women. Araji (2000) concurs, placing it in a broader tradition of male violence against women, in a comparative analysis of western and non-western societies.

A substantial amount of literature has focused on honour-based abuse within South Asian communities, and often principally on forced marriage. However Payton, in an empirical study on honour-based abuse in Middle Eastern communities in the UK, also concludes that HBV should be identified as a "distinct sub-category of violence against women" and shows that this view aligns with Middle Eastern women's "own understandings of the dynamics of power and violence within their marital and kinship relations" (Payton, 2014, p.16).

'Difference' schools of thought

Some have argued that honour-based abuse is sufficiently distinct from domestic violence that it should be treated separately. Dyer (2015) argued that "there are major differences between 'domestic' and 'honour' violence", citing elements of pre-planning, the involvement of multiple perpetrators and a lack of regret on their part (Dyer, 2015, p.12). This is echoed by the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation who have argued that "it is the organized nature of these murders, where there is often a collective decision to kill, and a large conspiracy to evade justice, which makes them a special case" and that "domestic violence provisions are often inadequate and inappropriate for this purpose" (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008b, Ev.289).

Brandon and Hafez (2008) agree that honour-based abuse differs in key respects from other forms of domestic violence, on the basis that it often involves sons, brothers, sisters, extended family members and in-laws rather than men against their (female) intimate partners. They also point to the pre-planning and ritualized nature of the violence which, they argue, makes it “distinct from other ad-hoc forms of violence against women” (Brandon and Hafez, 2008, p.2).

Intersectionality

Another approach is intersectionality, a term coined by Crenshaw to highlight the overlapping strands of disadvantage and discrimination faced by BME women (Crenshaw, 1991). Thiara and Gill (2010) propose a notion of structural intersectionality, arguing that the abuse of South Asian and other minority ethnic women is “complicated by and mediated through the intersection of systems of domination based on ‘race’, ethnicity, class, culture and nationality”, in addition to gender. They argue that South Asian women’s experiences of discrimination risk being homogenised, the complexity of experiences oversimplified and ‘culture’ given as the primary tool for explaining violence, leading to the ‘collective victimhood’ of South Asian women, when in fact their experiences may be very different to one another, and factors such as racism, nationality or poverty may be as significant as cultural practices. They suggest that these multiple and complex influences position some women with particular, intersecting disadvantages which require specific services and approaches: exactly the opposite of what happens when their experiences are conflated and oversimplified (Thiara and Gill, 2010, pp.18,46).

Thiara and Gill argue that the experiences of South Asian women are often ‘added on’ as an afterthought to policy agendas on domestic violence. Whilst they favour violence against South Asian women being viewed as part of a broader violence against women agenda, they argue that “intersectionality offers the best hope for a nuanced approach, as it allows us to examine issues of violence against women in relation to South Asian women in the UK in all its complexity” and that services should be shaped by that approach (Thiara and Gill, 2010, p.48).

Intersectionality offers a useful theoretical framing for conceptualising honour-based abuse and forced marriage, as it allows the examination of the intersection in particular of gender and race/ethnicity. However, it has been shown to be difficult to implement in policy and practice as a framework for combatting overlapping inequalities. With reference to national attempts to integrate different inequalities into a single framework under the Equality and Human Rights Commission, Squires (2009) has shown that attempts to institutionalise intersectionality can in fact increase competition between different (in)equalities. She argues that, in this country, bringing together the different equality strands has done little to recognise or respond to cumulative inequalities (where separate strands are understood to overlap) or combined inequalities (where intersectional discrimination is recognized as qualitatively different from the sum of its discriminatory parts).

The research questions for this study seek to analyse honour-based abuse as a group (or several groups) of experiences with key elements in common, and to make some generalisations to compare these groups with experiences of domestic and intimate partner abuse. Intersectionality as an approach emphasises the uniqueness of each individual's experience and identity, and the potential that no two experiences are the same. Whilst this is a strength in terms of the approach's adaptability and nuance, it is challenging in seeking to build an analysis in which generalisations can be made about groups, and translated to policy applications. As Squires (2009) has shown, the approach can also be tricky to implement in a policy setting, as it can set up competition between individual inequalities. For these reasons, I do not use intersectionality as the principal theoretical framework in this research. However, I do employ ideas of intersectionality as one of several frameworks to interpret and discuss findings about how honour-based abuse is classified and identified by police and NGOs.

Similar but distinct?

Sen examines and rejects one approach which brings a wider range of practices in the West under the concept and terminology of honour—for example, emphasising Western 'crimes of passion' or Latin American 'machismo' culture as alternative dimensions of honour crimes. Rather, she argues that the common framework of violence against women (and women's human rights) should be used to bring together honour-based abuse with other forms of male

violence against women (Sen, 2005, pp.54-55). She situates honour-based abuse firmly within a VAWG approach, but argues that features of difference can and should also be identified (my italics):

The challenge is to be able to acknowledge if crimes of honour do have specific characteristics and to do so in ways that do not suffer the same traits of a Western, Orientalist gaze [...] It seems to me that crimes of honour share a number of features with other forms of violence against women, but also have a number of characteristics that mark them out from other practices. *To posit a specificity that is flawed and that fails to see linkages is problematic; to deny specificity if it exists is also problematic.*

In other words, where honour-based abuse can be differentiated from the wider category of violence against women, then recognising its specificity may help victims. She proposes six features which characterise honour-based abuse as distinct from other forms of gender-based violence:

- Gender relations that problematize and control women's behaviours, shaping and controlling women's sexuality in particular;
- The role of women in policing and monitoring women's behaviour;
- Collective decisions regarding punishment, or in upholding the actions considered appropriate, for transgressions of these boundaries;
- The potential for women's participation in killings;
- The ability to reclaim honour through enforced compliance or killings; and
- State sanction of such killings through recognition of honour as motivation and mitigation.

Along the same lines, Dustin and Phillips argue that honour-based abuse should be situated both as similar to other forms of gender-based violence, and also as having distinct features. They state that, in responding to "abuses of 'culture', it is tempting to refuse the categorisation of a discrete body of 'honour-based' crime, and insist on treating these only as part of the wider category of domestic violence and violence against women". It is important, they argue, not to do in a way that risks "blurring important differences" (Dustin and Phillips, 2008, p.15).

This study takes as a starting point, then, a positive framework of both specific features of similarity and specific features of difference from other forms of gendered abuse. This chapter has already reviewed the ways in which honour-based abuse and forced marriage can be located within a gender-based violence framework. What, then, are the features of difference? Sen (2005) identifies three elements: the involvement of women in perpetrating abuse, collective decision-making, and the use of violence to 'reclaim' honour.

Payton (2014) takes a similar view, arguing against identifying honour-based abuse as cultural, but that just using a more universal category of violence against women may submerge any particularities of HBV. With Sen, Payton also identifies collectivity as a key feature. Brandon and Hafez (2008) point to the defining features of involvement of more and a wider range of relatives, and the pre-planned, ritualised nature of violence. So, as we saw in the review of definitions earlier in this chapter, features of difference are often identified as the number of perpetrators, involvement of wider family, and elements of pre-planning and collusion.

Female perpetrators: a challenge to a feminist framing?

A potential challenge with conceptualising and responding to honour-based abuse and forced marriage as forms of violence against women is the presence of female perpetrators in some cases (Roberts, 2014; Roberts *et al*, 2014). This section reviews some empirical studies and media analysis of how and why females may be involved in perpetrating honour-based abuse. It concludes that the existence of female perpetrators can still be conceptualised within a framework of male violence towards women.

Whilst domestic or intimate partner violence sometimes involves female perpetrators and male victims, it is generally recognised to be heavily gendered, with most victims in terms of frequency and high-severity abuse being women, and most perpetrators men (Hester, 2013b). "Women remain the majority of victims of 'crimes' of honour" (Welchman and Hossain, 2005, p.6), although men have been victims of both forced marriage (Samad, 2010) and honour-based abuse (Sen, 2005).

However, with honour-based abuse, female family members (in particular mothers and mothers-in-law) are quite frequently involved in carrying out or facilitating the abuse of (mostly) younger female family members (HMIC, 2015). Sen notes that “not only men but also women play a central role in ensuring that women adhere to gender norms [...] women are key in ensuring these limits and can also be party to decisions to kill women, including their own daughters”. She identifies the involvement of women as critical in two of her six proposed features that differentiate honour-based abuse from other forms of VAWG, namely (Sen, 2005, p.50):

2. the role of women in policing and monitoring women’s behaviour;

4. the potential for women’s participation in killings

Women have been involved in several high-profile so-called ‘honour killings’. Some have played an active role—for instance the mother-in-law of Surjit Athwal, who was tried and convicted for masterminding her murder along with Surjit’s husband. In other cases, women’s roles seem to be more complex and the line between ‘perpetrator’ and something more akin to a ‘coerced victim’ blurred. For instance, the trial of Tulay Goren’s father and uncle(s) for her murder uncovered that her mother, though on the face of it ‘colluding’ with the murder, was herself highly-controlled, severely abused and intimidated by her husband, who had attempted to kill her at least twice (Bingham, 2009).

So, there may be at least be questions over the extent to which women ‘perpetrators’ in such cases have a choice in their actions. And there may be nuances to their roles which have as yet been insufficiently explored – for example, might they be operating to mitigate or disrupt male-perpetrated violence within the family, rather than colluding in it? One such example of complex roles negotiated by women is described by Giovannini (1987) who found that girls in Sicily who secretly met their boyfriends were routinely exposed by their sisters to the family. He questions the role of the sisters in upholding the honour codes, and concludes that the implications for them of having a ‘ruined’ sister was significant enough to motivate them to expose their behaviour. The *vergogna*, or shame, of the girls’ behaviour not only stigmatised their sisters by association, those sisters would be expected to behave in the same manner unless they distanced themselves.

Elden dissects the varied roles of female natal family members in three 'honour' killings in Sweden. She notes that "it is clear that these women, sisters and mothers, all act in different ways" and that, in relation to honour-based abuse, "'other women' (e.g. mothers) [...] have been more or less invisible in this debate, as have internal power relations within the family" (Elden, 2011, p.128ff). Through interviews with female victims/survivors of honour-based abuse, Elden finds that women (especially mothers) often secretly helped their daughters (e.g. to conceal a pregnancy or to report abuse to the police), but that they suffered a high price themselves for doing so if found out (harassment by community members, abandonment). She also found that such female 'solidarity' could be limited, with women willing to help one another until the point that it impinged their own reputation – the same notion of 'infection' by association with a 'bad' woman as observed in the Sicilian context. Elden notes that the same notion of women being responsible for other women's behaviour and reputation that can lead to honour-based abuses by women, can (to a limited extent) also lead them to help or protect those women. She suggests the notion of women's "loyalty to the male collective" as central to understanding women's behaviour in honour-based contexts (Elden, 2011, p.138).

Payton (2011) has shown found female 'aggressors' to be a feature of honour-based abuse in Middle Eastern communities. She suggests that women may collude "tacitly or explicitly" in an 'honour' killing out of their own self-interest, out of fear, or a desire to maintain the social standing of the male-dominated family within the male-dominated community. She argues that "each individual woman has a number of different and intersecting identifies and loyalties (such as religious, ethnic and tribal identification) which may take precedence over her identity as a woman" (Payton, 2011, p.74).

A key explanation of the involvement of women in condoning violence against other women is the proposal by Kandiyoti (1988) of a 'patriarchal bargain'. She argues that women strategize within a set of concrete constraints, and that different forms of patriarchy present women with distinct "rules of the game" and call for different strategies to maximise security and optimise their options with varying potential for active or passive resistance in the face of oppression. Samad and Eade (2002) similarly propose that gender relations extend not only to hierarchies between men and women but also to individuals of

the same sex. They note that mothers play a central role in the socialisation of daughters' behaviour, and that daughters learn from a young age to internalise patriarchal ideology and then become its enforcers.

The notion that women's participation in patriarchal family structures can gain them power and influence has been proposed by several authors. In particular, the idea that age and status is as powerful (perhaps more powerful) a dividing force as gender. Payton suggests that "patriarchal structures do not just unite men against women, but the older generation against the younger. Older women may be included in family councils and take a role in conspiracies, provided they have internalised the gender roles of the 'honour' system and play a masculine role in enforcing them on the younger generation" (Payton, 2011, p.75). Oldenburg, with reference to gender roles in the family in Northern Indian, suggests that "relationships of gender and power are complicated by factors such as kinship and age" (Oldenburg, 2002, p.9). She shows that mothers are more powerful than sons, older daughters or sisters more powerful than younger women, a wife as she takes charge of a household or has children more powerful than one who does not. Oldenburg identifies that "the fiercest competition for power is between the mother-in-law and her daughters-in-law, or among sisters-in-law, making gender solidarity within a multigenerational extended family difficult for women". Rew *et al* argue for the existence of a "culturally specific form of patriarchal bargain" in Indian society, and show that mother-in-law to daughter-in-law violence can be conceived within feminist frameworks (Rew *et al*, 2013, p.147).

Gangoli and Rew (2011) note that research on 'violent women' in the West has been mainly in the area of battered women killing their male partners (often conceptualised as retaliatory violence), or on women's abuse of children. They review literature in India on women's violence against women, which they show has been identified in a wider number of contexts, including female infanticide, selective abortion of female foetuses, communal or ethnic conflicts, and "notoriously, violence against young married women perpetuated by their mothers-in-law in domestic violence and dowry-related cases". They show that "gender segregation within the household can give mothers-in-law almost unregulated control over the behaviour, appearance and dowry of the daughter-in-law and they can often represent patriarchal family values", that young brides are often seen as insignificant within the marital

household (where young married couples often live with the husband's family), and characterise the role of daughter-in-law as often viewed as a "threat to the strong maternal-son relationship". They identify that "woman-to-woman violence not only serves male interests in dividing women, but also uses older women to control younger ones in the family" and that "social and familial benefits accrue to women who accept, and are complicit in, these relationships" (Gangoli and Rew, 2011, pp.420-421).

The literature reviewed here shows that, whilst female perpetrators are often a feature of honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases, their roles can be conceptualised within an overarching framework in which women negotiate their own roles and power in relation to patriarchal norms and family hierarchies relating to age and status.

Conclusion: conceptual framework for this study

The theoretical framework I adopt in this study is two-fold, and I describe it as one of 'commonality and difference'. My overarching approach is gendered, viewing honour-based abuse and forced marriage both as forms of (male) violence against women, with much in common with other forms of such abuses, including domestic and intimate partner violence. It is important to locate them in this way to resist a "parallel universe" in which all violence against BME women is collapsed into a lens of 'honour' and false barriers erected with other forms of abuse (Siddiqui, 2014). Within this umbrella of gender-based abuse, there are features of honour-based abuse which are distinct from other forms of violence against women including domestic and intimate partner abuse. One argument for recognising these distinctions is that so doing avoids the trap of 'flattening' the differences between BME women's experiences (Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010).

I draw principally on Sen (2005), who proposes that it should be possible to both see honour-based abuse as part of a 'common framework' of gendered violence, but also recognise and pin-point specific features of difference. Sen argues that "to posit a specificity that is flawed and that fails to see linkages is problematic; to deny specificity if it exists is also problematic" (Sen, 2005, p.49). I agree.

I also draw on Dustin and Phillips (2008), who warn that responding to the “abuses of culture” by collapsing together all forms of violence against women can risk “blurring important differences”. In common with both Sen and Dustin and Phillips, I believe that there are specific particularities to this form of gender-based violence (as there are with other forms) which we must recognise and seek to understand better. To overlook these particularities would be to miss some of the risks and needs of victims and potentially lead to missed opportunities for support. Thus, whilst I reject purely ‘cultural’ explanations which set honour-based abuse apart as distinct from other forms of gendered abuse, I favour a nuanced approach which allows for some recognition of difference whilst also emphasising similarity. Such an approach is, I recognise, difficult to translate easily into public or media understanding as it may be simplified to ‘exoticise’ these abuses, and caution is therefore required in the extent to which differences are emphasised.

I will examine the data collected against these ideas of ‘commonality and difference’, to see how they confirm or challenge gendered constructions, and the specific or distinct features of honour-based abuse. I will discuss what these findings mean for how we should define and understand honour-based abuse in relation to other cases of domestic and intimate partner abuse. I will identify what are the implications both for policy definitions, and for features-based definitions, and propose any changes to current policy which might arise from this discussion.

Chapter 3: Empirical data on honour-based abuse: how much is there, what is it, and who is involved?

Introduction

This chapter reviews the existing empirical evidence on honour-based abuse and forced marriage. It begins by setting out what we know (and don't know) about scale and incidence nationally. It then considers what is known about where honour-based abuse and forced marriage occur (countries, parts of England and Wales and particular communities, cultures and/or ethnicities), who it happens to, who conducts it, and what kinds of behaviours or crimes it involves. Finally, it reviews existing data on criminal justice measures taken in response to honour-based abuse and forced marriage, and the evidence on how many cases interact with the criminal justice system.² The review of empirical data in this chapter therefore sets the scene for analysis and interpretation of the data on who and what is involved in honour-based abuse, which is presented in chapters 6 and 7.

In reviewing the scale of honour-based abuse and forced marriage, there are three key challenges:

- (1) It depends on what you are counting. If definitions vary (or indeed are found to count cases that they should not, or exclude cases that they should include) the number of cases reported as honour-based abuse will reflect this.
- (2) As with, and even more than, other forms of domestic abuse, honour-based abuse is under-reported for a number of reasons, and so counts will always be estimates and always be under the true scale (HMG, 2014a).
- (3) Nationally, there has been a focus on the extreme end of the spectrum, so-called "honour killings" and on forced marriage. So there are better developed figures on these forms. More recently a focus on FGM has led to better data on this aspect too.

Some of the data reviewed in this chapter relate to honour-based abuse overall; where this is so, it tends to include forced marriage and often also FGM (for example, HMIC 2015). Other

² Criminal justice data refer to England and Wales only—Scotland and Northern Ireland have devolved justice systems.

data relate only to forced marriage, which has been the subject of more empirical studies as well as conceptual writing. This chapter reviews both studies of honour-based abuse, and of forced marriage only. Where studies relate to one or other form of abuse, I make this clear.

Scale of honour-based abuse: incidence and prevalence

Data challenges and sources

Generating robust numbers on the scale of honour-based abuse and forced marriage is not easy. Challenges with sources mean that there is a skew towards availability of data in the criminal justice system, and different methods of data sampling, collection and reporting mean that data can be hard to compare or verify. The most recent empirical study (the 2015 HMIC police inspection in England and Wales) reviewed existing data sources and found that there were no prevalence data on the extent of honour-based abuse in the population nationally. The inspection did publish important new data counting incidents of honour-based abuse and forced marriage reported to the police, although it also noted that both were likely to be significantly under-reported (HMIC, 2015).

Most police forces in England and Wales now flag incidents and crimes as honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage, and the CPS publishes annual data on the number of honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases prosecuted in England and Wales. This means that the further a case progresses down a criminal justice route, the more information is available on it, but also that the data are skewed towards (a) cases known to criminal justice agencies and (b) cases that are associated with crimes (HMIC 2015).

Commonly, studies on honour-based abuse and forced marriage have sampled data in a cross-sectional approach, counting the number of cases at a particular point in time, or over a particular number of months. Where they sample multiple areas, or the same areas repeatedly over time—for example, HMIC (2015) data from all police forces in England and Wales, or the annual CPS data collected from all prosecution areas—these methods are useful for being able to compare between sites or over time. Other sources have taken a snapshot approach, but at a single point only (e.g. FCO, 2016), and often take opportunistic samples at a single site or of a small number of cases.

In sum, there are no data or robust estimates for the prevalence of honour-based abuse and forced marriage in the national population: that is, what proportion of the population are affected by these practices. Empirical studies and reported data tend to focus on incidence (the number of new ‘cases’ during a given period of time), but these tend to only count the number of cases known to particular agencies (e.g. criminal justice, victims’ agencies), and not attempt to scale these up to nationally representative estimates. Existing studies also tend to relate to ‘snapshots’ at particular points in time, rather than tracking cases through the system. This snapshot approach to sampling makes it hard to know the extent of overlap or gap between the cases counted.

What we know—honour-based abuse and forced marriage

This section sets out existing studies (mainly cross-sectional studies) which count cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage nationally, to give an overview of available sources and the state of knowledge. All these studies count only ‘visible’ cases—i.e. those reported (or otherwise known) to police or other agencies. There are no population prevalence studies. They relate to different years and use different methods. Where possible, I uprate the estimates to a 12-month period, to allow easier comparison. There may be overlap between different studies in terms of counting cases; in particular, police and victim’s NGOs may include the same cases. For this reason, no attempt is made to combine the existing studies into an aggregate estimate.

The most cited data relate to ‘honour killings’ and to forced marriages. The number of 12 ‘honour killings’ a year in England and Wales is commonly mentioned. (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008a, p.17; Begikhani *et al*, 2015, p.33). This figure seems to originate from a speculative comment made in the media by a police chief in 2003 in connection with the Heshu Yunes murder case (Brandon and Hafez 2008, p.37). As such, it does not seem robust enough to warrant the circulation it has enjoyed. Dyer (2015) identified 18 honour killing cases in the UK between 2010 and 2014. On an even annual split, this equates to 4-5 cases per year. Compared to the documented 80 to 150 or more domestic abuse murders per year (ONS, 2015a) this is still a small number. It may be that potential ‘honour’-based murders are much higher. It is hard to tell, not least because of definitional challenges: for instance, only murders of women by men of South Asian and Middle Eastern origin are likely to be classed

as ‘honour killings’ which may well miss others (Brandon and Hafez, 2008). The police have recognised the possibility that ‘honour killings’ have been disguised as suicide or accidental death—and this led in 2004 to a review of old cases closed between 1993 and 2003 by the Metropolitan Police to look for evidence of possible honour-related murders (Bekighani *et al*, 2010). Whatever the true figure for murders, they only represent the extreme end of the spectrum—but the exoticism of high-profile cases and the recognisable nature of a murder as a specific act, has led this form of honour-based abuse to obscure the broader spectrum of cases.

Looking at all honour-based abuse (not just murder), HMIC (2015) offers the most recent data with national coverage on identified incidents in England and Wales. In the ten months to 31 January 2015, a total of 2,600 incidents of HBV, forced marriage and FGM were recorded by 41 out of 43 forces in England and Wales. Approximately 2,400 victims and 830 crimes were associated with these incidents. To make the figures comparable to other annual reports, if these data for ten months were uprated to 12 months (using a simple multiplying factor of 1.2), the annual number of incidents would be 3,120 incidents with 996 crimes. The breakdown of incidents reported by HMIC was 60% HBV (for the 12-month estimate, this would equate to around 1,800 incidents) and 30% forced marriage (for the 12-month estimate, this would equate to around 940 incidents). HMIC note that reporting to police of HBV-flagged incidents had risen slightly over the previous three years, forced marriage-flagged incidents had declined, but FGM-flagged incidents had trebled (HMIC, 2015, p.58). This may reflect an increased public and political prominence given to FGM over this period. The breakdown of crimes is somewhat different, with just under 80% HBV and just under 20% forced marriage. HMIC also analysed the number of HBV-flagged crimes per 10,000 BAME population in each force area, and found variation between 0 and 4.6 crimes per force. Comparing the numbers to police data on domestic abuse overall (887,253 recorded incidents over 12 months in 2013-14 in England and Wales) (ONS, 2015a), the combined 12-month estimate of 3,120 HBV/forced marriage/FGM incidents represent approximately 0.35% of overall domestic abuse incidents. This is extremely low compared to the on-average 5% rate within the Insights victim NGO data (SafeLives, 2015). This might suggest problems with police flagging of these cases, and/or perhaps low levels of reporting of honour-based abuse and forced marriage to the police compared with domestic abuse.

The Crown Prosecution Service reports annually on incidents of honour-based abuse and forced marriage identified by prosecutors in England and Wales. The latest annual Violence Against Women and Girls report for 2015-16 showed that in 2015-16 there were 216 referrals to the CPS in England and Wales from the police for HBV-related offences (CPS, 2016). In the same period there were 90 referrals for forced marriage in England and Wales.

In the 12 months to 31 March 2014 there were 5,549 cases of domestic abuse known to 27 IDVA support services for high-risk domestic abuse victims in England and Wales (SafeLives, 2015). The latest data for MARACs in England and Wales show that they heard 62,330 unique high-risk cases in the 12 months to end of June 2016 (SafeLives, 2016). Of the cases known to IDVAs, 4% were HBV and 1% forced marriage, a total of 5%: equating to 277 cases over a year. It is difficult to scale these proportions to estimate a national rate, as there is no reliable total count of the number of IDVA services across the country. However, a 5% proportion of all domestic abuse cases heard at MARACs nationally would equate to 3,000 unique cases of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage in a year (2,400 honour-based abuse and 600 forced marriage (1%)). It should be noted that MARACs only hear high-risk domestic abuse cases, so these numbers would only represent high risk cases.

Data from the national HBV Helpline, run by charity Karma Nirvana, show that it received 1,069 calls over four months in 2008 (Karma Nirvana, 2008). Up-rated to 12 months using a simple multiplying factor of three would equate to 3,207 calls. Latest data for 2015 shows that the cross-Government Forced Marriage Unit (FMU) received 1,220 calls for help with forced marriage across the whole of the UK (including Scotland and Northern Ireland) (FCO, 2016). The FMU noted that these numbers included repeat calls about the same case, and queries not relating to forced marriage.

Kazimirski *et al* (2009) estimated national prevalence of forced marriage in England and Wales based on reports to local and national agencies. They surveyed a variety of local agencies supporting victims in ten local authority areas about the number of cases they had seen over a 12-month period. The authors up-rated these numbers nationally by applying a factor based on how many cases were reported as a proportion of local BME populations across the country. They then added cases reported at a national level to national agencies Karma Nirvana and the Forced Marriage Unit, added a factor to allow for overlap of reporting, and

calculated minimum and maximum national estimates at 5,000 and 8,000 reported cases per year respectively.

Summary: how much honour-based abuse and forced marriage is there in England and Wales?

Acknowledging the limitations of different sampling methods and periods, the difficulties in quantifying potential overlap and the fact that all these studies are only measuring 'visible' cases (those reported to police and other agencies), some idea of magnitude is a better starting point than none. The available figures at a national level (for England and Wales) would perhaps suggest a total for 'visible' cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage at an absolute minimum of 3,000 cases per year: the police recorded just over 3,000 incidents of honour-based abuse/forced marriage/FGM over 12 months, an estimate of honour-based abuse/forced marriage cases heard at MARAC is 3,000 unique cases over the same time period. The Kazimirski *et al* national estimates for reported cases of forced marriage (only) in England and Wales are between 5,000 and 8,000 cases per year. Even on the most conservative estimate, assuming 100% overlap of measurement between these cases (i.e. that they are all being double or triple-counted across agencies), this would show a minimum of 3,000 reported cases per year in England and Wales. More partial data sources, but which might capture cases known to victims' service or helplines rather than just to law enforcement agencies, suggest that between 3,000 and 8,000 calls are made per year to the National HBV Helpline; around 1,200 calls a year on forced marriage only to the Government's Forced Marriage Unit (this includes Scotland and Northern Ireland too). Both helplines' data are likely to include multiple calls relating to the same cases but it is not clear to what degree. The SafeLives' data captures around 300 cases per year in England and Wales; this is a partial picture as it relates only to some victims' NGOs, but how partial is not clear.

Where is it happening?

Which communities?

Honour codes and abuses relating to women's sexuality have been shown to occur in recent years across the world: in Lebanon (Hoyek et al 2005), Palestine (Shalhoub-Kevorkian, 2005), Israel (Touma-Sliman, 2005), Jordan (Abu Hassan and Welchman, 2005), Spain

(Gilmore, 1987), Latin America (Pimentel *et al*, 2005), Japan (Asano-Tamanoi, 1987), India (Chakravarti, 2005), Pakistan (Warraich, 2005), Morocco (Marcus, 1987), and Turkey (Sev'er and Erkan, 2004). Inglis and MacKeogh (2012) note the continuing significance of women's sexual honour as a social code in contemporary Ireland. They have also been well documented in this country (Welchman and Hossain, 2005; Sanghera, 2007).

Nationally, honour-based abuse more broadly, especially in the form of forced marriage, has been most documented amongst South Asian communities—in particular those of Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian origins. For instance, whilst the latest FMU data (for 2015) reports that cases involved 90 different countries, by far the largest single associated country was Pakistan (44% of cases). The next two most common were also South Asian countries—Bangladesh (7%) and India (6%). Hester *et al* (2008) identified a long list of other countries and communities associated with forced marriage, including some 'white' communities. As well as South Asian communities, honour-based abuse (though less often forced marriage) has been repeatedly documented amongst communities of Middle Eastern origin, in particular those of Turkish and Kurdish origin (Begikhani *et al*, 2015; Payton, 2014).

The strong representation of South Asian, especially Pakistani, communities in the national data may be because South Asian diaspora communities are larger than others in this country, have been established for longer, and have well organised community groups (HMG, 2014a). Chantler *et al* (2009) note that there have historically been articulate and active South Asian feminist groups in the UK who have challenged gender-related activities, and posit this as one reason for the increased identification of the issue within South Asian communities.

There is emerging evidence of the influence of honour-related abuse in more recent immigrant communities, including the Somali community (which was the fourth most commonly associated country of origin for FMU cases in 2015) and Traveller communities. And the changing nature of immigration from specific middle Eastern countries, in particular Iraq (the FMU's sixth most common associated country in 2015), and, lately, Syria, are likely to change the picture again (FCO, 2016).

Where ?

Data from the Forced Marriage Unit give a regional breakdown of the origin of calls they received for help in 2015.

The most common region was London (22%), followed by the West Midlands (14%), North West (10%), South East (9%), Yorkshire and Humberside (9%), East (7%) and East Midlands (4%). The region was unknown in 18% of cases (FCO, 2016).

In the first four months of operating the National HBV Helpline in 2008, Karma Nirvana reported that, for the 852 calls in which the origin of the call was known, the Eastern region was the most common, followed by the Midlands, London and the North West (table 1, Karma Nirvana, 2008).

Table 1: Geographic location of callers to the National HBV Helpline, 2008

	No. calls	% all calls
Eastern	192	23%
Midlands	162	19%
London	131	15%
North West	115	13%
South East	115	13%
North East	76	9%
South West	23	3%
Northumbria	16	2%
Wales	16	2%
Scotland	5	1%
N Ireland	1	0%
TOTAL	852	100%

Whilst there is some variation, London, East Midland, West Midlands, North West and Yorkshire and the Humber seem to report more cases in both the Karma Nirvana and FMU data. This reporting pattern mirrors areas with high BME—especially South Asian—populations. Census figures from 2011 show the ethnicity population breakdowns for England and Wales

as per table 2. The great majority of population in all areas was White, but Asian/Asian British was the next biggest ethnicity grouping at 7.5% of the total population. Within this ethnic group, the highest proportions were found in London (18.5%) and the West Midlands (10.8%), followed by Yorkshire and the Humber (7.3%), East Midlands (6.5%) and the North West (6.2%). The South West (one site where this study collected data) was 2%. The other two services (S01 and S02) were in the East Midlands and North West respectively—so both in the top five areas of the country for BME populations and for highest number of calls to the National HBV Helpline.

Table 2: Ethnic composition of English regions and Wales, Census 2011 (ranked in descending order by proportion of Asian ethnicity) (ONS, 2011)

	Other Ethnic Groups	Black/African/ Caribbean/ Black British	Asian/Asian British	Mixed/ Multiple Ethnic Groups	White
<i>TOTAL: England and Wales</i>	<i>1.0</i>	<i>3.3</i>	<i>7.5</i>	<i>2.2</i>	<i>86.0</i>
London	3.4	13.3	18.5	5.0	59.8
West Midlands	0.9	3.3	10.8	2.4	82.7
Yorkshire and the Humber	0.8	1.5	7.3	1.6	88.8
East Midlands	0.6	1.8	6.5	1.9	89.3
North West	0.6	1.4	6.2	1.6	90.2
South East	0.6	1.6	5.2	1.9	90.7
East of England	0.5	2.0	4.8	1.9	90.8
North East	0.4	0.5	2.9	0.9	95.3
Wales	0.5	0.6	2.3	1.0	95.6
South West	0.3	0.9	2.0	1.4	95.4

Who is it happening to?

Introduction

As with other data, existing profile information on victims of honour-based abuse and forced marriage nationally is based on limited empirical studies, and the qualitative accounts of

victims. As such, it may be that certain profiles which are commonly associated with communities practising honour codes or forced marriage are over-represented (e.g. South Asian victims), and/or that others are missed or not identified as these types of abuse.

Victim gender

Honour-based abuse and forced marriage are recognised to predominantly affect women and girls (HMIC, 2015), although men can also be victims—sometimes by themselves, other times as the boyfriend or husband of a female victim. Samad (2010) identified forced marriage against men as an under-acknowledged problem. He noted several ‘motives’, primarily relating to sexuality (either gay men, or men in relationships with girlfriends that their families disapproved of), but also relating to criminal behaviour of the men, marriage as a means of securing care for disabled (including mentally ill) men, of preventing the break-up of family land, and as a means of immigration. Approximately 7% of the estimated 5,000 ‘honour’ killings annually worldwide are of male victims (Roberts, 2014).

In terms of national data, the national HBV Helpline in 2008 recorded that 89% of calls related to female victims, 8% to male, and 3% to both (i.e. boyfriend and girlfriend). Forced Marriage Unit data for 2015 showed that 80% of cases were female and 20% male (FCO, 2016). Latest CPS (for 2015-16) found that 76% of victims in HBV cases were women and 24% men (CPS, 2016). For comparison, the same report shows that, for domestic abuse (including both intimate partner and familial abuse, although no breakdown is available), 83% of victims were women and 17% men. Kazimirski *et al* (2009) found that 96% of victims of forced marriage were women, and 4% men. So, whilst honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases are still heavily gendered, they seem to be associated with slightly higher proportions of male victims than other domestic abuse cases.

Victim age

Several studies have shown that victims of forced marriage are commonly in their mid-20s or younger. Forced Marriage Unit data for 2015 (see table 3) show that 27% of victims of (potential) forced marriage were under 18yrs and 35% were between 18-25yrs (FCO, 2016). So, 62% were aged 25 or younger. Kazimirski *et al* (2009) found that 14% of (potential) victims

of forced marriage were under 16 yrs, and 26% were 16-17 yrs. A further 40% were 18-23 yrs, and 20% were 24yrs or older. So, 80% were under 24 yrs old. Hester *et al* (2008) found that the majority of victims of forced marriage were married at the age of 24 or younger.

Table 3: Age of victims of forced marriage in 2015 (Forced Marriage Unit, 2016)

Age	Number	% of all cases
<16 yrs	174	14%
16-17 yrs	155	13%
18-21 yrs	247	20%
22-25 yrs	180	15%
26-30 yrs	105	9%
31-40 yrs	73	6%
41 yrs +	25	2%
Age unknown	261	21%
Total	1,220	

There are few previous empirical data available which profile victims of honour-based abuse other than forced marriage. The National HBV Helpline data for 2008 showed that 11% of victims of honour-based abuse were aged 16 or younger; some 38% were aged 17-21 yrs, some 12% were 22-26yrs, some 13% were 27-31 yrs, some 5% were 32-36yrs, and some 3% 37yrs or older. In 18% of cases, the age was unknown (Karma Nirvana, 2008). So, around half were under 22 yrs old. Dyer found that young people were most at risk of honour-based abuse overall, and that where ages of victims of honour murders was known, just under half were 25 yrs or younger, though the ages ranged from 16 to 56 years (Dyer, 2015).

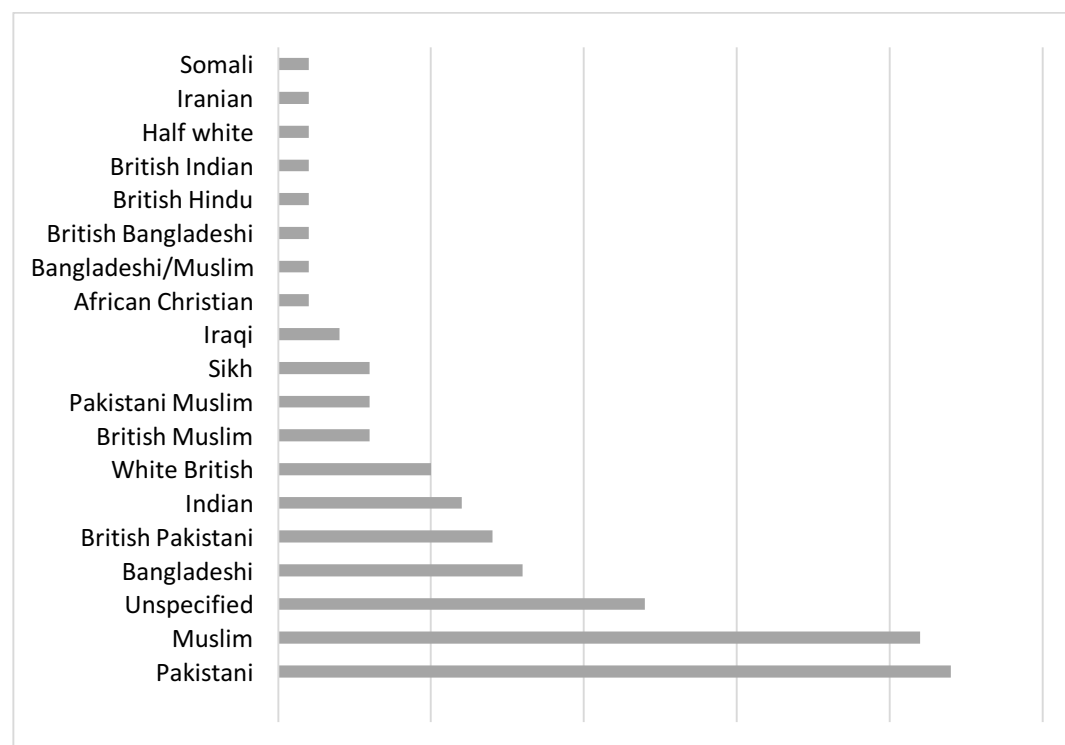
So, we can see that victims of both honour-based abuse and forced marriage—the latter in particular—have typically been identified as being young: often under 25 yrs, with sizeable numbers under 18 yrs old. This may partly reflect a policy focus on the age of 16 as a risk factor for forced marriage, due to it being the age of consent for marriage in this country, and the age that compulsory schooling ends. However, the emergence in recent years of studies highlighting prevalence of other forms of intimate partner violence against younger people (e.g. Barter *et al*, 2009; SafeLives, 2012), suggest that it may be a good moment to evaluate

to what extent this younger age profile for these abuses really is distinct from other forms of domestic and intimate partner violence.

Victim ethnicity, nationality and religion

National HBV Helpline data (Figure 1) report a mix of ethnicity, nationality and religion data in categories which do not appear to be mutually exclusive (Karma Nirvana, 2008). This rather neatly illustrates some of the challenges with existing data; and the relative proportions highlight several points of interest. First, as with the FMU data, Figure 1 shows a strong association of honour-based abuse with South Asian communities/ethnic groups, especially Pakistani. Second, it illustrates that honour-based abuse is associated with a wide range of ethnicities, nationalities and religions—including, significantly, a sizeable number of White British victims. Third, it demonstrates the complex relationship of ethnicity and nationality, with many of those of South Asian ethnicity also identifying as British/being British nationals.

Figure 1: ‘Nationality’ of victims calling the National HBV Helpline in 2008



Honour-based abuse and forced marriage have also been observed across a range of religions including Christian, Hindu, Sikh, Muslim and Jewish (e.g. Hester *et al*, 2008). It is more

associated with Muslim communities nationally, but, as with ethnicity, this may be a reflection of the large South Asian diaspora population.

Victim sexual orientation

Sexual orientation has been found to be associated with forced marriage and honour-based abuse. Studies have shown that gay men and gay or lesbian women have been forced by their families to marry, or subjected to other honour-based abuse, as a result of their sexuality (e.g. Hester *et al*, 2008). As with domestic abuse, the proportion of LGBT victims is not clear, and sexual orientation is likely to be under-identified in the data. For instance, SafeLives Insights data for all domestic abuse 2013-14 showed that only 2% were LGBT (SafeLives, 2015). Forced Marriage Unit data for 2015 also recorded 2% LGBT victims of forced marriage, though they recognise this may be under reported (FCO, 2016).

Victim immigration status

Immigrant spouses have been particularly identified with honour-based abuse, domestic abuse amongst BME communities and, to some extent, forced marriage (Hester *et al*, 2015). Organisations such as Southall Black Sisters and IKRWO have campaigned in support of BME women who suffer domestic abuse—including honour-based abuse—but who have no recourse to public funds and are therefore acutely vulnerable, since this may restrict their access to refuge, other housing, social and other support services. There do not appear to be any current data on what proportion of honour-based abuse victims may have vulnerable immigration status; although Dyer (2015) found that, of the victims of 'honour' killings identified in the UK over five years, none were British nationals.

Perhaps in contrast, victims of forced marriage have been shown to be more commonly British citizens, or to have secure immigration status. Hester *et al* (2008) found 58% of victims to be British. Kazimirski *et al* (2009) found that 85% of forced marriage victims were British citizens.

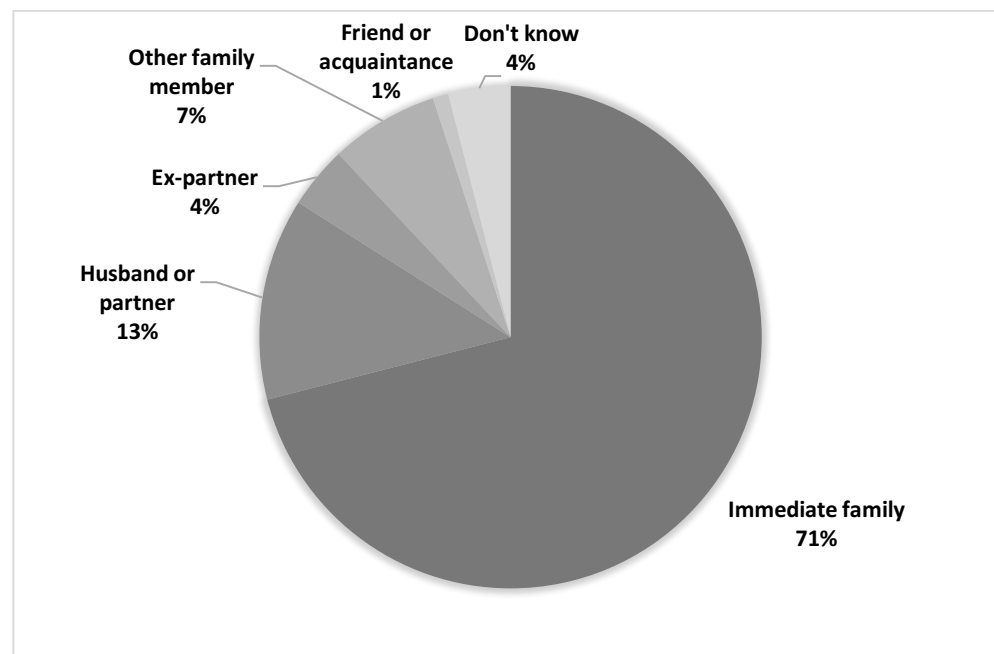
Who is doing it?

Perpetrator relationship(s) to victim

Gill (2014) states that perpetrators of honour-based abuse are most often the victim's male blood relatives or in-laws: their father, brother(s), cousins and/or uncle(s). Whilst older women (especially mothers and mothers-in-law) play a part in perpetuation of the abuse, it is usually men who carry out violence. Payton (2014) identifies that abuse is often carried out by the victim's patrilineal relatives—that is, the victim's father and his family. Gangoli *et al* (2011) showed that perpetrators of HBV and forced marriage were not only intimate partners, but also extended families or communities.

Dyer (2015) found that most perpetrators of 'honour killings' in the UK were close family members—a little over half involved current or former partners and/or that partner's family; the rest involved the victim's parents (and a couple also the victim's male siblings). Where there was a male victim, the perpetrator(s) usually involved the family of the current or ex-partner (2015: 6). The National HBV Helpline in 2008 (see Figure 2) reported that 17% of callers cited an (ex) intimate partner perpetrator, whereas most reported the perpetrator to be immediate family members (a breakdown is not given).

Figure 2: Relationship of perpetrator(s) to victims calling the National HBV Helpline in 2008



The National Police Chiefs' Council suggests a possibly more complex relationship between intimate partner perpetrators, and the involvement of wider family or community members: "although cases show that much of the abuse does originate from intimate partners and the immediate family, further abuse can be instigated by extended family members or members of the community" (NPCC 2015, p.15).

Number of perpetrators

The literature reviewed in chapter 2 has shown that multiple perpetrators are often identified as a defining feature of honour-based abuse (Payton, 2014; Sen, 2005; HMG, 2014a; Begikhani *et al*, 2015).

Perpetrator gender

CPS data for 2015-16 showed that 81% of defendants in forced marriage cases were men and 19% women (CPS, 2016). For HBV, 87% were men and 13% women. The same report shows that for domestic abuse (including intimate partner and familial), 92% of defendants were men and 8% women. So, whilst the perpetration of honour-based abuse and forced marriage crimes remain heavily gendered (men to women), these abuses do involve a higher proportion of female perpetrators than domestic abuse overall (13% and 19% respectively, compared with 8%).

The responsibility to uphold honour codes in families, including punishing any transgressions, rests mainly with the male family members (HMIC, 2015). However, the involvement of female perpetrators in facilitating or actively carrying out abuse has been documented in cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage (Dyer, 2015). The higher CPS rate of involvement of female perpetrators in cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage fits with the nature of these abuses as more commonly involving extended female family members, in particular mothers and mothers-in-law (as reviewed in Chapter 2).

Perpetrator demographics

Less is known about perpetrator demographics in the literature. They tend to be associated with the same communities/countries of origin and ethnicities as the victim data reviewed

above. The CPS data for 2015-16 does not contain a breakdown of ethnicity for honour-based abuse and forced marriage.

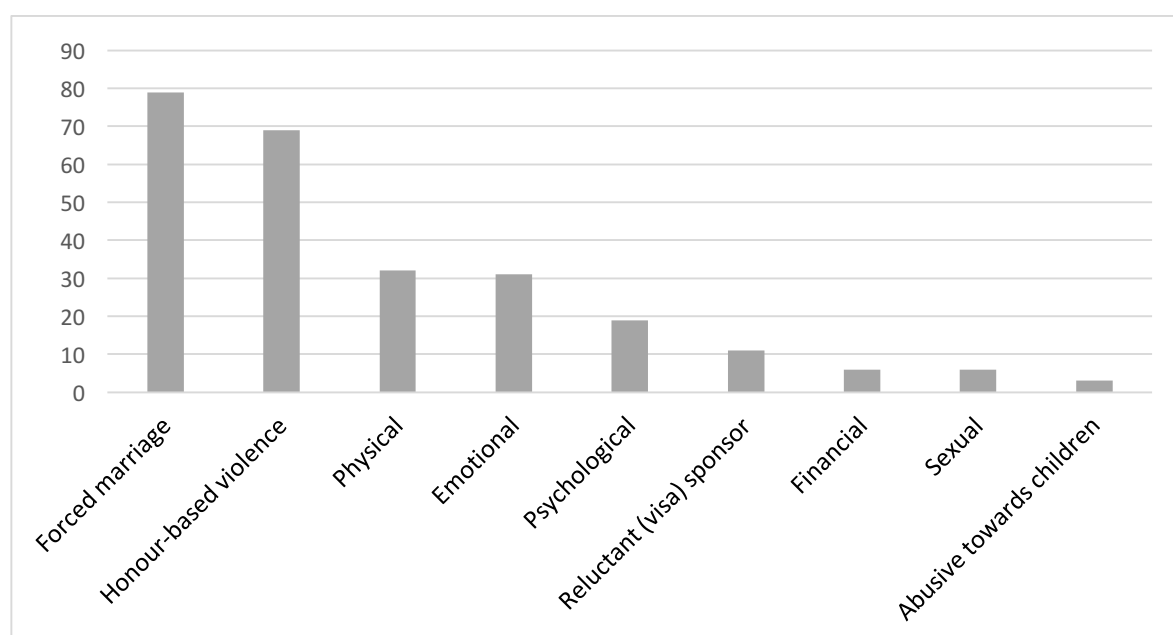
What does the abuse involve?

Abuse profile

Brandon and Hafez consider domestic violence, 'honour killings', forced marriage and FGM to be four aspects of honour-based abuse. They consider honour-based domestic violence to "differ significantly" from more common forms of domestic violence because it can be carried out by members of the wider family. They cite the specific forms of abuse involved as physical abuse, psychological and emotional violence, isolation/imprisonment, kidnapping/being forced to travel abroad, rape/sexual violence and abandonment. They also cite restriction/isolation as a tool used by in-laws (Brandon and Hafez, 2008, pp. 15-26).

Figure 3 shows that callers to the National HBV Helpline reported experiencing different forms of abuse, including physical, emotional, financial and sexual (Karma Nirvana, 2008). Some 80% disclosed forced marriage. Psychological abuse described by some of the victims included receiving threats to scar or maim victims or their partners, and on occasions threats were made to kill.

Figure 3: Nature of abuse reported by victims calling the National HBV Helpline in 2008 (number of victims)



Other literature shows honour-based abuse to involve many of the same abusive behaviours as domestic abuse. For example, the family lawyers' association Resolution describes it as involving: coercive controlling behaviour (e.g. removing victims from school or education, controlling freedom of movement, preventing the victim from learning English, threatening to deport immigrant spouses, threats to remove children); physical abuse (which can involve extended family members and/or in-laws, and specific forms of attack such as acid attacks); financial abuse; sexual abuse (including around forced marriage); and emotional abuse to the victim and sometimes to third parties (e.g. threats to harm family members, threats and humiliation to the victim, enforced servitude, shaming to the community) (Resolution, no date).

Criminal Justice System data

Two main national data sources on honour-based abuse and forced marriage are the police and CPS (HMIC, 2015). Chapter 4 deals with the legislative framework and responses of the CJS; the following section presents data on cases charged and prosecuted.

Latest CPS figures for 2015-16 show that, of 216 referrals for HBV-related offences, some 145 (67%) were charged. There were 182 completed prosecutions for HBV-related offences, 50% of which resulted in a conviction. In the same period, there were 53 completed prosecutions for forced marriage, 60% resulting in conviction. The most common reason for a prosecution not ending in a conviction for HBV cases was victim issues. The same was true for forced marriage, where 67% of unsuccessful cases were due to victim retraction, victim non-attendance or where the victim's evidence did not support the case. By comparison, the rate of domestic abuse cases which were unsuccessfully prosecuted due to victim issues (53%) was between the rate for HBV and forced marriage (CPS, 2016).

The recent HMIC inspection reported the CJS outcomes of the HBV, forced marriage and FGM-flagged crimes in 2014-15. Just over 20% involved a charge/summons. Some 36% resulted in no further action due to evidential difficulties where the victim did not support police action, 20% in no further action due to evidential difficulties although the victim did support police action, and in 15% no suspect was identified. By comparison, the proportion of outcomes for which there were evidential difficulties for the broader crime category Violence Against the

Person (representing domestic and other familial violence) was lower (HMIC, 2015, pp.62-63).

To compare with rates of domestic violence, in 2015-16, there were 117,882 referrals made by the police to the CPS for domestic abuse. Of these, 70% were charged, relating to 82,157 defendants. Some 75,235 defendants were convicted for domestic abuse, 75% of all cases prosecuted (CPS, 2016, pp.28-30).

CPS data for 2015-16 shows that for domestic abuse overall, offences against the person were the most frequently prosecuted offences, representing 78% of domestic abuse crimes. Criminal damage accounted for 10% and public order offences for 3% (CPS, 2016, p.31). The CPS does not provide a break-down of offences for HBV or forced marriage.

Summary: Gaps in empirical data

In addition to the definitional questions and gaps raised in chapter 2, this chapter has shown that there is a lack of consistent and comparable data and empirical studies on all aspects of honour-based abuse but particularly on abuse that is not forced marriage. The 2015 HMIC inspection, though imperfect, has helped by providing consistent, up-to-date, national data on incidents and crimes of honour-based abuse and forced marriage reported to the police in all force areas.

Chapter 4: Responses

Trends in national government responses to honour-based abuse

Honour-based abuse, and in particular forced marriage and FGM, have risen to prominence in the national policy agenda over the past 15 to 20 years, in response to Black and Asian feminist activism in the 1990s (Siddiqui, 2014). The response of recent governments has been broadly to treat these issues under the policy umbrella of domestic violence, and sometimes also under a catch-all banner of 'harmful traditional practices' which mainly affect BME women. However, there have also been, at different times, a specific focus on one form or another (e.g. 'honour' killings, forced marriage or FGM), which have sometimes acted to obscure the wider issue of honour-based abuse (Brandon and Hafez, 2008).

Siddiqui (2014) and Wilson (2010) describe various trends in state responses over the last century, including 'assimilationist' approaches to minority communities in the 1950s and 1960s, a more liberal but neo-colonial multicultural policy from the mid-1960s on, which funded 'ethnic projects' and set up 'community leaders', and the development of a more 'mature multiculturalism' in the 1990s, but which was accompanied by changes to public service commissioning and delivering that forced out small, community organisations. Meeto and Mirza (2007) follow Hall (2000) in identifying "multicultural drift", a notion that multiculturalism as a policy approach has tended over the years to develop piecemeal. They and others identify a focus on 'soft culture' in providing concessions for things like religious holidays, or particular dress (e.g. exempting Sikhs from wearing helmets): the 'saris, samosas and steelbands' approach (Chantler *et al* 2009, p.588).

British government policy has regularly framed honour-based abuse and forced marriage as 'cultural' issues. Multicultural approaches in the 1990s, it has been argued, allowed such practices to go unchallenged by the state as part of a misguided 'cultural relativism' which allowed minority communities to self-police and tolerated practices out of a (misguided) sense of respect for 'cultural practices' (Siddiqui, 2014).

Siddiqui argues that, in large part in response to concerns about extremism in the post-9/11 climate, in the 2000s government responses returned to policies of assimilation "now dressed

up as social cohesion or ‘social integration’” (Siddiqui, 2014, p.5). Wilson describes the policies of this period as “anti-Muslim racism” in which ‘faith communities’ were privileged and secular movements (such as the South Asian women’s movement) were side-lined and funding for specialist BME services again withdrawn (Wilson, 2010, pp.61-62).

The consequent ‘othering’ of honour-based abuse and forced marriage as minority BME issues was seen as particularly damaging for framing these abuses as ones of ‘culture’ or religion, rather than ones of gender equality in common with other forms of domestic abuse (Siddiqui, 2014; Begikhani *et al*, 2015; Gill and Anitha, 2011). Not only did such approaches lead to policies of non-intervention and “collude with the oppression of women through a policy of appeasement with the male leadership”, they also failed “to recognise power divisions within communities that meant that the needs and interests of oppressed subgroups, such as women, were not addressed” (Siddiqui, 2014, pp.19-20).

Specific initiatives have taken place around forced marriage and FGM. Gill and Mitra-Kahn identify “an enormous surge in the level of public awareness” of forced marriage since 1999 (Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010, p.128). Establishment of the joint FCO and Home Office Forced Marriage Unit in 2005 gave that issue prominence, extended by the passing in 2007 of the *Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007*, which introduced Forced Marriage Protection Orders, and in 2014, of the law criminalising forced marriage (*Serious Crime Act 2015*).

Honour-based abuse more generally has not had such attention. It is mentioned on only six pages and three actions in the latest Government action plan: one on improving police data collection on HBV, forced marriage and FGM, one to consider HMIC’s recommendation to review legislation on HBV and consider introducing new legislation, and one for the CPS to continue to focus on “harmful traditional practices” including HBV, forced marriage and FGM (HMG, 2016, pp.55-58). Forced marriage is mentioned on 17 pages and is the subject of four actions (HMG, 2016). Honour-based abuse has almost never been looked at without forced marriage and/or FGM. This is striking if one considers that HMIC found that 60% of HBV-flagged incidents and just under 80% of HBV-flagged crimes comprised honour-based abuse rather than forced marriage or FGM (HMIC, 2015, p.60).

Specific national government policy framings

Forms of state intervention

Dustin and Phillips (2008) set out three ways in which states respond to issues of abuse in minority communities: regulation, dialogue and exit. They suggest that national government responses to forced marriage map onto these. Regulation involves state intervention to impose so-called 'common' or majority values. Dialogue recognises that values are contextual and does not privilege one culture over another, nor assume homogeneity within cultures. This is important as it avoids the critiques of 'essentialising' and 'reductivism' of approaches which see whole cultures as having the same internal views and values, and also avoids the state response of appointing community 'gatekeepers'. This approach emphasises the importance of inter- and intra-cultural dialogue. Exit relates to the right of individuals to choose to leave a culture. Dustin and Phillips identify the use of both regulation (such as through criminalisation of specific practices or use of immigration control) and exit (such as offering victims support to leave their family and/or community and live elsewhere) as state responses to forced marriage in this country.

Immigration control

Several authors have highlighted that immigration control has been used by governments as a response to forced marriage (Gangoli *et al*, 2011; Hossain and Turner, 2002; Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010). Use of immigration control as a response to forced marriage in particular has not been restricted to the UK. Bredal (2005) has described its use by the state in Denmark. Many have been critical of this link, for being both ineffective and discriminatory. As Samad puts it, "unfortunately, the issue of forced marriage has been inextricably linked with the moral panic over immigration and Islamophobia" (Samad, 2010, p.203).

Immigration restrictions have mainly been used in forced marriage policy, rather than against other forms of honour-based abuse. Since many victims of forced marriage have been British, these measures seem to have been aimed at preventing marriage to British citizens as a way of bringing in friends and relatives from overseas. The Government in 2008 raised the age at which a young person could sponsor a spousal visa, from 18 to 21, in large part as a measure

against forced marriage. Following a Supreme Court ruling in 2011, the age limit was returned to 18. An empirical study commissioned by the Home Office found that there was no evidence that raising the age of sponsorship would prevent forced marriages (Hester *et al*, 2008). The latest Forced Marriage Unit figures show that 14% of its cases in 2015 had no overseas element, with the marriage taking place entirely within the UK (FCO, 2016).

Criminalisation

Successive governments have introduced new legislation to criminalise different elements of honour-based abuse. Forced marriage was criminalised in 2014 (*Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014*). To date, there is no specific law on honour-based abuse, although the HMIC has recently called for a review of the adequacy of existing laws (HMIC, 2015).

The question of whether or not criminalisation of practices is effective is a vexed one. It has been argued in relation to forced marriage that criminalisation sends out a strong signal to victims that the practice is illegal and encourages them to come forward (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008a). On the other hand, it is argued that criminalisation may drive the practice underground as victims may not want to prosecute their families; and, on a practical level, that new law is not required (Brandon and Hafez, 2008; Gill and Anitha, 2011). Others have argued against it on the principle that it is racist and discriminatory (Samad, 2010). There is some early evidence that the criminalisation of forced marriage in 2014 may be deterring women and girls from engaging with the police (Imkaan and Rights of Women, 2016).

Current government policy

The current government framework for responding to honour-based abuse and forced marriage sits within the broader umbrella of Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG). As such, the policy lead sits within the Home Office (although the Forced Marriage Unit is run jointly with the FCO). On 8 March 2016, the Government published a new strategy for 2016-20, *Ending Violence Against Women and Girls* (HMG, 2016). Political leadership is in the form of an Inter-Ministerial Working Group on VAWG, chaired by the Home Secretary. In addition to generic child protection legislation, public officials working in statutory agencies in health, education, social care and the police have a legal obligation to have regard to statutory multi-

agency guidance on dealing with forced marriage, which includes some sections on honour-based abuse (HMG, 2014a).

Key obligations arising from that statutory guidance for police include: that police officers must investigate honour-based abuse robustly and not let a fear of being branded culturally insensitive affect a decision about actions; where public bodies become aware of an incident of honour-based abuse, they must recognise potential risk to other children or family members in that environment, and consider making arrangements for these individuals too; and public bodies must keep accurate records of risks identified and safeguarding actions taken and share that information if necessary with other agencies (HMIC, 2015).

Since 2010 the current and the previous government have treated honour-based abuse and forced marriage under general domestic abuse policy and provision, with the exception of criminalising forced marriage and breach of Forced Marriage Protection Orders in 2014 (see next section). In the same way as other victims of domestic abuse, victims of honour-based abuse and forced marriage may have their cases heard at local MARACs if they are deemed to be high risk, may be supported by local domestic abuse services (statutory or voluntary) including IDVAs (Independent Domestic Violence Advisors), outreach and helpline support and refuges provided by voluntary NGOs or statutory agencies, and may access health, housing, counselling and children's services. Some may access specialist BME services, which may be refuges or domestic abuse services specifically for BME or immigrant women which are culturally- or language-specific, or targeted services such as immigration advice. There exist some government-supported specialist services, including the national Honour-Based Violence Helpline, run by charity Karma Nirvana, the government's Forced Marriage Unit which does casework and runs a helpline, as well as victims' NGOs such as the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO), Imkaan, Southall Black Sisters, Ashiana, and the Freedom Charity.

Legislative frameworks

Human Rights frameworks

International human rights frameworks, especially the European Convention on Human Rights, transposed into UK law via the Human Rights Act 1998, establishes fundamental human rights for all individuals which all public authorities must help to uphold and protect. Honour-based abuse can impact on the following fundamental rights, based on legal advice sought by the inspection which noted that psychological harm as well as physical harm can amount to a breach of human rights:

- Right to life (Article 2)
- Right not to be tortured, or treated in an inhuman or degrading way (Article 3)
- Right not to be enslaved or forced to work (Article 4)
- Right to liberty and security of person (Article 5)
- Right to respect for private and family life (Article 8)
- Right not to be discriminated against (Article 14)
- Right to freely marry (Article 12) (HMIC, 2015, pp.44-45)

Legal advice to the HMIC inspection concluded that the ECHR placed requirements on the police including around having training in place, having proper systems that ensure victim confidence, and allocating adequate resources (HMIC, 2015).

As well as the ECHR, there are human rights obligations arising from the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC)—the latter for victims under 18. The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic abuse (“the Istanbul Convention”) came into force in August 2014. It creates a legally-binding international framework (applying to those countries in the Council of Europe) for combatting violence against women, establishing a series of offences characterised as violence against women which States which ratify the Convention must criminalise—including forced marriage (article 37). It includes an article on unacceptable justifications for crimes, including those committed in the name of so-called honour (article 42). This stipulates that it must be established in criminal proceedings that defences of culture, including ‘honour’, must not be regarded as justification for any acts of VAWG (Council of Europe, 2011). To date, whilst the UK signed the Convention in 2012, it has not ratified it.

National criminal law (England and Wales)

There is no specific crime of honour-based abuse; rather, it is prosecuted for its constituent offences. The following general crimes may amount to honour-based abuse: murder or manslaughter, violent crimes (e.g. grievous bodily harm, common assault), false imprisonment, sex crimes (e.g. rape or sexual assault) (HMIC, 2015). These broadly are similar to the crimes associated with domestic abuse, particularly those relating to violence against the person and sexual offences.

There are specific offences associated with the acts of forced marriage. Section 121 of the Anti-Social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014 criminalises forced marriage. A person commits an offence if she or he:

- a) Uses violence, threats or any other form of coercion for the purpose of causing another person to enter into a marriage; and
- b) Believes, or ought reasonably to believe, that the conduct may cause the other person to enter into the marriage without free and full consent (*Anti-social Behaviour, Crime and Policing Act 2014*).

The law makes it an offence to practice deception with the intention to cause someone to leave the country to bring about a forced marriage. It has a wide application, to cases where the victim or perpetrator are in England and Wales (whether or not they are British nationals), or where either of them are habitually resident in England and Wales, or where they are both outside the UK but at least one of them is a UK national. This reflects the often international element of forced marriages. It applies whether or not the marriage has actually taken place, and it defines marriage as a civil or religious ceremony—this covers religious marriages (e.g. Islamic marriages) which might not be legally binding. A person convicted of forced marriage under this legislation is liable to imprisonment of up to seven years (on indictment) or up to 12 months or a fine (if tried summarily). The same act criminalises breach of a civil Forced Marriage Protection Order, making breach punishable by up to 5 years' imprisonment.

Provisions in the *Modern Slavery Act 2015* may also apply to cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage. This Act sets out that a person commits an offence if they:

- a) Hold another person in slavery or servitude and the circumstances are such that the person knows or ought to know that the other person is held in slavery or servitude;
or
- b) Require another person to perform forced or compulsory labour and the circumstances are such that the person knows or ought to know that the other person is being required to perform forced or compulsory labour (*Modern Slavery Act 2015*).

Safeguarding obligations under the Children Act 2004, the Care Act 2014 and the Social Services and Well-being (Wales) Act 2014 also apply in the case of victims under 18 and vulnerable adults. For adult victims, general provision for domestic abuse can apply. In addition to the wide range of constituent offences which may make up domestic abuse, there are some specific relevant laws (College of Policing, 2016). A new offence of controlling or coercive behaviour in intimate or family relationships was introduced into the *Serious Crime Act 2015*, and came into force in December 2015. It makes it an offence to repeatedly or continuously engage in behaviour towards another person that is controlling or coercive, if at the time of the behaviour they are personally connected and the behaviour has a serious effect on the other person. It carries a maximum penalty of five years' imprisonment. The College of Policing guidance is that coercive controlling behaviours may include:

- constant criticism
- humiliation
- jealous or possessive behaviour, eg, frequent phone calls to check where the victim is and what they are doing, or checking activity on the victim's phone or social networking accounts
- controlling family finances and withholding money from the victim
- isolating the victim by not allowing them to visit friends and family
- restricting a victim's movements, eg, confining them to a room
- dictating what a victim wears or how they do their hair
- dictating a victim's routine or schedule, eg, timing school runs or shopping trips
- preventing the victim from working outside the home or monitoring them at work

- restricting access to communications, eg, phone or computer
- manipulating the police, eg, scene-setting or getting into character before they arrive, reinforcing the victim's fear that they will not be believed (College of Policing, 2016).

This law applies only where the victim and perpetrator are living together or are intimate partners but not living together, at the time of the behaviour. It does not apply if they are ex-intimate partners and are not living together—in such cases, stalking and harassment legislation may apply. These coercive and controlling behaviour offences may be relevant to many of the identified patterns of behaviour that honour-based abuse involves.

Civil orders

There are several civil orders which might apply to specific forms of honour-based abuse. The *Forced Marriage (Civil Protection) Act 2007* introduced Forced Marriage Protection Orders (FMPOs). An order is issued by a court (on application by a person at risk of or in a forced marriage, or by a third party, or where the court itself determines it is necessary). An FMPO applies to a particular person and will contain specific provisions to do or not do certain things (HMIC, 2015). Other civil orders generally used in domestic abuse cases may be relevant—including non-molestation orders, restraining orders, and occupation orders.

Police identification and flagging

Policy, strategy and guidance

As with government policy overall, criminal justice responses to honour-based abuse have focused most on forced marriage and FGM. 'Honour killings' have to a limited extent been also addressed. This was particularly the case around the mid-2000s, in response to a number of high-profile murders, including that of Tulay Goren in 1999, Heshu Yones in 2002, Banaz Mahmood in 2006 and Surjit Athwal at some point prior to 2007 (Begikhani *et al*, 2015). In 2003 a Strategic Homicide Prevention Working Group on Honour Killings was established in the London area, and in 2004 Scotland Yard re-examined 109 possible 'honour' killings between 1993 and 2003. This led to the establishment in 2007 of case flagging by the CPS and, in 2008, to the first national HBV strategy issued by the then national police chiefs' body

ACPO (now the NPCC). That document established honour-based abuse as a policing priority, proposed a common definition of honour-based abuse, and instituted the practice of police flagging of honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases across forces (ACPO, 2008).

Between 2008 and 2015, criminal justice responses to honour-based abuse more broadly (rather than specifically on forced marriage and/or FGM) were few (Begikhani *et al*, 2015). Until 2015 the main national guidance document for police in relation to honour-based abuse remained the 2008 ACPO guidance. In December 2015, the NPCC published an updated strategy for 2015-18 on honour-based abuse, forced marriage and FGM. This strategy sets out three key principles for the police response. First, that victims have a “fundamental right to be believed”. In this context, officers should indicate that the victim is believed, unless there is “clear and unambiguous evidence to the contrary” (NPCC, 2015, p.8). It puts the decision to arrest with the police, although (in a move away from the ‘zero tolerance’ approach of the 2008 strategy), places emphasis on considering the victim’s wishes. Second, that victims’ safety (safeguarding) and wellbeing should be at the heart of responses. This includes an acknowledgment that, at the point victims approach the police, their risk will “exponentially increase”. Third, victims’ personal details must be stored, managed and handled with integrity and confidentiality. This may involve forces restricting access on their systems to these incidents, crimes and intelligence reports. The strategy sets out detailed measures for prevention, protection, prosecution and partnership working (NPCC, 2015).

In line with the statutory duties under the multi-agency government guidance on forced marriage, Local Safeguarding Children and Safeguarding Adults Boards at local authority levels establish their own protocols for tackling honour-based abuse and forced marriage. Similarly, individual police forces have protocols about how to define, identify and respond. Police and Crime Commissioners’ (PCC) Police and Crime Plans may well set out a tailored response too: for example, the Northumbria PCC’s plan has four priorities for the force relating to honour-based abuse, forced marriage and FGM (HMIC, 2015). HMIC found that most forces had developed specific policies and guidance for staff, and some had also developed toolkits (HMIC 2015). It also found that “the majority of forces” followed the 2008 ACPO definition for HBV, though definitions for forced marriage varied, and policies and procedural guidance for staff “varied considerably across forces” (HMIC, 2015, p.56). The inspection found that

few forces had good processes in place for reviewing performance information or analysing their response to victims (HMIC 2015).

Flagging

HMIC found that “most forces” flagged crimes and incidents against all types of HBV, though methods for flagging varied considerably, meaning that data were often not directly comparable or available over the same time periods. It noted that failure to consistently and accurately flag cases had a negative circular impact:

- If officers do not understand HBV, it will not be identified and flagged, and victims will lose confidence in the police response, reducing the likelihood of future reporting; while
- If a force’s systems do not support consistent recording, relevant intelligence may not be easily accessible when required. If cases cannot easily be identified, victims may not be protected, forces will not be able to audit cases and learn lessons, and officers will not be prompted to learn and respond more appropriately in future, thereby encouraging more victims to report (HMIC, 2015, pp.52–57).

Chantler *et al* (2009) raised questions about how definitional issues can affect police flagging and the analysis of forced marriage in such datasets. For instance, at what point coercive or pressuring behaviour should be logged as forced marriage—when someone is worried they might be pressured into marriage, or only when they have been married already?

In the police force in this study, a ‘flag’ was applied to a case as early as possible in the reporting process, though it could be added at any stage and by any officer. Under the main flag for honour-based abuse, a sub-flag could be applied to indicate honour-based abuse or forced marriage. Other flags could be applied simultaneously to the case, for instance domestic abuse or child abuse. Application of this flag meant that any incident or crime on the police recording database to which it was applied could be searched for on a range of search parameters (e.g. date range).

Summary: Gaps in policy, law, government and police responses

Nationally, government responses to honour-based abuse in its different forms have been under the broader umbrella of domestic violence and, more recently, Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG). However, successive government policies have singled out particular forms of abuse, most notably forced marriage and FGM, as “harmful traditional practices”, giving them particular prominence and profile, and taking specific measures to address them. This may have had the effect of disconnecting them from other forms of gender-based abuse in the public and professional eye. Overall, successive governments have tended towards an enforcement approach to honour-based abuse and forced marriage, with a response delivered primarily through criminal justice agencies, tightening immigration control, and reaching for legislation to criminalise certain practices. Gill and Anitha (2011) argue that legislation on specific issues like forced marriage ‘essentialise’ and serve to further remove these issues from a broader VAWG framework based on the commonality of many such forms of abuse.

In addition to the challenges around definition and framing of honour-based abuse and forced marriage (chapter 2), and gaps in data around scale and nature of the abuse (chapter 3), this chapter has established some gaps in policy and practice responses. First, it has found (especially between 2008 and 2015) an overall lack of policy focus or actions on honour-based abuse more generally, compared to forced marriage and FGM. Second, it has highlighted a lack of an evidence base on “what works” to tackle honour-based abuse and support victims, compounded by a lack of systematic review of case data by police and other agencies, and underpinned by a lack of consistent data collection and flagging, as confirmed by the 2015 HMIC inspection. And third, it has found that there is not specific provision in criminal law for honour-based abuse (HMIC, 2015), which is likely in part due to vagueness and debate around its definition. The review in this chapter, does not, however, identify the lack of specific law as a deficiency. HMIC has called for the Home Office to review the legislative framework for honour-based abuse to consider whether new legislation is needed for “the specific criminalisation of all forms of HBV where existing offences do not adequately deal with the particular context of HBV crimes” (HMIC, 2015, p.132). However, the HMIC does not identify specific barriers to prosecution arising from the current law, nor does it propose specific

legislative measures. The fact that the CPS prosecutions and convictions for both honour-based abuse and forced marriage have steadily risen over the past several years (CPS, 2016) suggests that there may not be a *prima facie* case for new law.

Chapter 5 Methodology

Introduction

This chapter sets out the research questions for the study, situating them in the knowledge gap(s) identified in chapters 2 to 4. It describes the methodology used to analyse and answer these questions, with a discussion of challenges encountered and overcome, and why these methods were deemed the most suitable to answer the research questions.

Research questions

The review of existing policy, literature and data on honour-based abuse and forced marriage nationally in Chapters 2 to 4 found that there has been a focus on specific forms of honour-based abuse, in particular forced marriage, FGM and (to a lesser extent) ‘honour killings’. There has been a consequent lack of empirical data on **who** and **what** characterises other cases, and whether and how they differ from other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse. As a result, I would argue, there has been a lack of scrutiny of current national policy and practice definitions against empirical evidence to test whether they are adequate to identify and respond to honour-based abuse.

Therefore, the main research questions for this study were (in the context of cases reported to police and victims’ NGOs):

1. What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve?
2. How does forced marriage relate to honour-based abuse?
3. Should honour-based abuse be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse?
4. What are the implications for national policy and definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage?

Research design

Choosing a method

Chapter 2 established the ‘hidden’ nature of honour-based abuse. Empirical studies have tended to respond to this challenge by employing qualitative methods such as interviews or focus groups with known victims of abuse (often using gatekeeping organisations to access: see Hester *et al*, 2015; Hester *et al*, 2008 on forced marriage), or interviewing professionals associated with responding to cases (e.g. Begikhani *et al*, 2005).

Stanko and Lee note that, in violence research, often the ‘hidden’ nature of the subject under study leads to concerns about bias in any research based on observed violence, which in turn can mean that subjects are left un-researched. They argue that this can mean some subjects are “allowed to remain so unexplored in a systematic way [...] leaving decision-makers without evidence on which to base policies that might reduce violence” (Stanko and Lee, 2003, p.1). This question seemed particularly pertinent to honour-based abuse, where there was an evident gap in the field of empirical research which scrutinises a larger sample of existing cases in a systematic way, and which allows profiling of cases to take place.

Qualitative methods such as interviews or focus groups are particularly appropriate for generating ‘rich’ data analysing meaning, creating descriptions or exploring reasoning (Gilbert, 2008). The research questions for this study were not focused on exploring discourse in communities on the construction of meaning around honour and honour-based abuse, nor specifically on understanding victims’ views, experiences or journey to help-seeking. Whilst it was interested in qualitative or discursive aspects (e.g. how a case related to ‘honour’), the primary aim was to generate quantifiable and comparable data on who the victims and perpetrators were, and what happened in terms of the form of abuse. For these reasons, purely qualitative primary research methods were not deemed appropriate. Instead, quantitative analysis which would allow numerical descriptions and comparisons between larger sets of cases, and for associations between cases to be explored statistically (Gilbert, 2008) were deemed a better fit.

This led me to look for a method would generate a larger number of cases containing consistent, comparable, but rich data variables which would allow for systematic analysis of the profiles of the people and behaviours involved. Because it is hard to identify and access victims/survivors (particularly as an individual PhD researcher) I explored whether there were existing datasets which could be used. National domestic abuse charity SafeLives had a

quantitative national dataset (Insights) of profiles of victims of domestic abuse (including honour-based abuse and forced marriage) accessing support services. This dataset had good numbers of cases (1,312 unique cases) and very high data quality in terms of completeness of fields, and carefully consistent data collection (SafeLives' analysts trained front-line workers to collect and record the data in a standardised way). It also had good reach across England and Wales, with case data coming from a range of services of different sizes, types and geographic locations. However, the data was all quantitative and pre-coded, therefore the narratives could not be examined. I decided to use the Insights data as part of the analysis, but not the whole. One use could be for triangulation of patterns found in smaller, richer datasets: to test these statistically in the larger Insights dataset. Alexander *et al* define triangulation as "measuring a phenomenon in two or three (or more) different ways in order to generate a more accurate measure of it" (Alexander *et al*, 2008, p.128).

Looking for richer existing data sources to use as well led me to case files held by the police and by domestic abuse agencies supporting victims of honour-based abuse. Since 2008 police forces had been (supposedly) flagging cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage. These police data seemed to be an untapped resource; I could not find existing empirical studies utilising them, and informal conversations with police officers suggested that there had been little internal examination within forces either. Hester (2013a) demonstrated the potential for using police case records to research vulnerable and hidden subjects (in that case, domestic violence victims).

Epstein has argued for the untapped potential of what he terms 'clinical data-mining' (CDM), namely "practitioners' use of available agency data for practice-based research purposes" (Epstein, 2010, p.3). He distinguishes it from secondary data analysis on the basis that that method uses databases where data were originally gathered for research purposes (albeit different research purposes), whereas CDM makes use of information that was not originally generated for research purposes—rather, it was gathered to inform or monitor practice (Epstein, 2010). Hester *et al* (2008) identify such existing datasets as potential sources of rich, victim-informed case data. Hayes and Devaney argue that case files are a rich research resource that have been "somewhat neglected" as data sources (Hayes and Devaney, 2004, p.318).

As discussed in chapter 3, much existing empirical data on honour-based abuse is based on cross-sectional ‘snapshots’ of cases at particular points in time. This approach is limited to being able to describe numbers of cases, and does not follow individual cases through an intervention or criminal justice system. An alternative approach, described by Daly and Bouhours (2009) as a ‘flow study’, is to follow individual cases through a system. Hester has employed this method in a similar context, tracking domestic violence and rape cases through police and CPS databases (Hester, 2013a). Each case in the SafeLives’ Insights data followed an individual through a service intervention, linking their data and outcomes when they exited the service with their data on intake. So, this dataset was able to track individual cases. A ‘flow study’ approach was also adopted with the case file data: case files would be used to extract information over time on individual cases, rather than cross-sections at particular time points.

Using existing case records would have several benefits. First, it would potentially identify and explore rich sources of unexplored data; second, in using already available data, it would avoid some of the sampling challenges with a hard-to-reach population (e.g. how to identify and reach potential participants, how to ensure sufficient numbers of participants recruited, sampling biases such as self-selection of participants with certain characteristics or experiences); and third, it would overcome challenges around language, comprehension or access to communities with poor English. Additionally, it would have ethical benefits such as not re-traumatising victims (Epstein, 2010).

Sample

In the final sample, data were extracted from case files flagged as honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage which were opened over a 12 to 15 month period at three sites: one police force (in South West England) and two victims’ services (in North West England and the East Midlands). The date range of the cases were similar but not exactly matched, but this was not deemed critical because the principal interest was the case features, rather than comparing criminal justice outcomes or policy impact (which might be more sensitive to having matching time periods).

The combination of these different sources in the end was principally opportunistic (or convenience) sampling: due to only securing access to case files in one police force, the victims' services were added to expand the number of cases (see Appendix B for further discussion of sampling approaches). The police site was included because, of the seven forces initially approached, it was the only force where the required level of data access was secured. It was not (unlike most of the other forces approached) one of the top five forces in the country reporting the highest incidence of honour-based abuse/forced marriage. For this reason, the victims' services were purposively selected from regions with high levels of reporting of honour-based abuse/forced marriage, to ensure the datasets included cases from different parts of the country and including areas strongly linked with honour-based abuse/forced marriage (the victims' services) as well as less so (the police force). The services were selected as they were two of the five services in England and Wales using SafeLives' Insights data service which were supporting the largest number of victims of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage. Inclusion of two different types of agency (police and victims' services) had positive as well as practical advantages: it enabled a wider range of case variables to be examined, as well as comparison between different sites and geographical regions.

The Insights dataset was sampled from SafeLives' larger database—all cases of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage in the Insights database were included, in order to generate as large a dataset as possible. This totalled 1,312 cases spanning the period August 2010 to February 2015 (4 years, 7 months).

In its final design, then, this exploratory study addressed the research questions drawing on four data sources:

- 86 case files from a police force in South West England
- 29 case files from a victim's agency in the East Midlands (S01)
- 47 case files from a victim's agency in North West England (S02)
- 1,312 case profiles (pre-coded) from SafeLives' Insights database

Combining datasets

Consideration was given to fully combining the four datasets (police, S01, S02 and Insights) into a single dataset for all analysis. This option was rejected for three reasons: first, the Insights dataset contained so many more cases than the other three and so would dominate any analysis and nuances from the other sites might be lost; second, when it came to comparing the 'types' of honour-based abuse case, those types were constructed in a different way in the Insights dataset (using a proxy calculation) to the other three datasets; third, retaining separate datasets would enable patterns observed in one to be tested separately in another—thus triangulating the findings, which can increase the validity by confirming or challenging them in unconnected datasets.

The police, S01 and S02 datasets were the most naturally comparable—they contained similar numbers of cases to one another (compared with Insights), had a high degree of overlap of variables, and the data were collected and coded in a similar way (by me). The division of cases into the 'types' were also coded in the same way.

So, data on the people involved and experiences of abuse (chapters 6 and 7) were reported separately for each of the four datasets, as well as combined figures across all four. This was deemed the best way of approaching the different datasets at the stage of exploratory profile-building. However, for the regression analysis in chapter 8 which tests the 'types' of case and patterns which emerged from the profile-building, the police, S01 and S02 datasets were combined into a single dataset. This was because a bigger dataset was needed for the statistical tests, especially when broken down into two or three groups by type. The Insights dataset was retained separately, again due to its relative size and dominance and the difference in the way type was coded in that dataset.

The research design for this study was primarily quantitative (using descriptive statistics, Pearson's chi-square statistic, and logistic regression), but also included exploratory profile-building using descriptive thematic analysis which compared and contrasted case summaries from the 162 case records from the police, S01 and S02 datasets.

Data collection

Determining variables of interest

Initial discussions with contacts at the data collection sites showed that the police recorded socio-demographic variables about the victim and perpetrator, details about the nature of the incident, information about previous criminality or links to other incidents, details of any investigations and their outcomes, and recoded crime coding as per the Home Office Counting Rules for police recorded crime (i.e. whether a case was treated as an incident or crime, what (if any) offence was associated with it, and (where closed) what the criminal justice outcome was) (Home Office, 2016). Discussions with the victims' sites showed that they recorded demographic information on the victim, limited information on the perpetrators, information about the incident(s), any risks, interventions accessed by the service or other services, and any outcomes for the victim. For all three sites, there were no guarantees about the completeness of this data, so any of these variable categories could have missing data. Insights collected information about cases relating to: victim demographics and profile, detailed profile of the abuse and risk factors, some limited information about the perpetrator, services and interventions accessed by the victim, and (where completed) information on criminal and civil justice outcomes. Taking these in combination, I determined to look for variables under four key headings: victim characteristics, perpetrator characteristics, abuse profile, and criminal justice interactions.

To check that the cases would be comparing like with like, the definitions and understandings of honour-based abuse and forced marriage used at each of the three sites and in Insights were checked and found to be similar—they all followed the Government's definition (see chapter 2).

Data collection and coding—police/S01/S02 sites

The police force and two victims' NGOs each used different case management systems to record information, each had different processes and functionality for searching and extracting information from these systems, and recorded variables to differing levels of completeness. Tailored data extraction plans were developed for each site. Once cases had

been extracted, each was assigned a unique ID which combined an identifier for the site, the aspect of the service the case had come from (e.g. IDVA or Outreach), and the individual case number.

I attended each site for several days over a total period of six months and copied the data from the relevant fields in the case management systems into a combination of Word and Excel files. On site, the data was processed to (a) bring together variables from separate Excel files into a single dataset, (b) remove rogue or poor quality cases, (c) check variables for consistency in coding categories (if already coded), or create and populate the coding categories (if free text), and (d) anonymise all the cases. Some of the variables, or their response categories, differed between sites. These variables were coded into the same—or closely comparable—categories, so they could be compared across the sites. The final list of variables is given below—Appendix C contains a fuller description of how each variable was coded.

Police force, South West

I sampled all police incidents (whether crimes or not) opened in a 12-month period to the end of March 2015 and flagged as honour-based abuse in one police force. Flags had been applied to cases either by the initial responding officer, or added later by a senior reviewing officer. A flag took the form of an electronic marker on the police incident record—the umbrella marker was ‘honour-based violence’, and at a sub-level underneath this, the case could be marked either HBV, forced marriage or FGM. This yielded case files on 125 unique police incidents and/or crimes. I identified which variables I wanted to extract, guided by the four headings relating to victim, perpetrator, abuse profile and criminal justice outcomes. Data responses came in a mixture of closed text categories (e.g. Yes/No, or a limited, pre-set list of responses for example for ethnicity), and open case notes (e.g. a single paragraph summary of an incident, or a series of case notes from the lead officer and (in parallel) the reviewing case supervisor). I extracted data for these 125 cases into Excel. Data were then coded and anonymized on site before being securely removed, as per the Data Processing Agreement. When coded, 7 cases were removed due to being only partial records which made it impossible to identify who was doing what to whom. A further 5 cases were deleted as they were erroneously flagged as honour-based abuse, and a further 3 cases were removed as they

were duplicate incidents relating to another incident. In total, this meant that 15 cases were removed at the cleaning and coding stage. For analysis, I removed the 24 FGM cases, as they were not deemed part of this study. This left a total sample of 86 unique cases of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage from the police site.

Service S01, East Midlands

I identified all cases (individuals supported) opened in a 12-month period to the end of March 2015 in this domestic abuse service in the East Midlands, which was identified through the SafeLives Insights dataset as having a high number of HBV cases. This included cases open to their IDVA, Outreach and Helpline services. In total, 47 cases were identified, 11 in each of the three support services. On site, I looked up electronic and paper records for each case by hand. Due to time constraints I used opportunistic sampling, starting with the IDVA, then Outreach, then Helpline. In this way I sampled case records for all 11 IDVA and Outreach cases, and 11 out of 25 Helpline cases—totalling 33 cases in my sample. The remaining 14 Helpline cases were excluded from the sample as I was not able to get case details. During cleaning and coding the cases, 4 were removed from the sample because they related to the same individuals as another case. This left a total sample of 29 unique honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage cases in this dataset. Data were anonymised on-site and removed as per the data processing agreement drawn up with the service.

Service S02, North West England

I identified all cases (individuals supported) opened in a 15-month period to end of June 2015 to a domestic abuse service in Lancashire, which was identified as having a high number of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage cases from the Insights dataset. This included cases open to their IDVA, Outreach, Refuge and Helpline services. In total, 94 cases were identified. As I coded the cases, I identified that several cases referred to the same individuals—I removed these duplicate cases, leaving a sample of 87 unique individuals. All 87 had data on the victim and perpetrator profile, type of abuse and interventions received from the service. However, since this was the same information as is available for all cases in the Insights dataset, only the 52 cases for which the service also had matching case notes available were included in the sample—the remaining 35 cases were removed. As with S01,

on-site I looked up electronic records for each case, extracting case data for all 52 cases. During cleaning and coding the cases, 5 cases were removed because the record was too partial to tell who was doing what to whom. This left a total sample of 47 unique honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage cases in this dataset. Data were anonymised on-site and removed as per the data processing agreement drawn up with the service.

Insights

I secured access to 1,312 unique case profiles of victims of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage from the SafeLives Insights data. This was agreed through a professional connection with the charity (where I formerly was Head of Research), but formalized through a written request for data access in which I set out how I would treat and analyse the data.

Each case represented a different victim who had been assessed as experiencing (or at risk of experiencing) honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage and was being supported by a specialist front-line domestic abuse caseworker. The same information was consistently collected in every case, using set fields in the Insights data forms, by the victim's caseworker at two points in time: initial assessment when the victim first engaged with the service, and again at case closure. Where relevant, additional information on their criminal and civil justice outcomes were also recorded at case closure. These forms could be linked together, giving a summary of the interventions received by the victim during their engagement with the service, their outcomes (health, safety, risk, justice and personal feelings of confidence and fear), and the change over time measured. Each case contained between 100 and 700 data points. Key variables on victim, perpetrator and profile of abuse were collected on the intake form, and, where there was an Exit form or Criminal and Civil Justice (CCJ) form completed at exit, further information was available on interactions with the police and criminal justice system.

I requested access to all the cases of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage in the Insights dataset, not limited to a particular time period. This was because the Insights service collects data in a consistent way on all cases of domestic abuse from across lots of services. SafeLives analysts searched the Insights database and extracted the data to Excel. They also de-duplicated any cases to remove repeat forms, before transferring a .xml file to me via

encrypted memory stick. 1,312 relevant cases with Intake forms were found in the Insights dataset. They were collected from 48 domestic abuse services in England and Wales during the time period 1 August 2010 to end February 2015 (4 years, 7 months).

Translating 'incidents' to people

In the police, S01 and S02 sites each 'case' in their records initially represented a single engagement with the service or a single incident, rather than necessarily separate individual people. These cases were translated into individuals during the data extraction process. Cross-referencing the victim's unique person identifier used by the service or force across different engagements meant that multiple engagements/incidents could be combined against a single individual, and any duplicate records were deleted. So, in the final datasets, each 'case' related to a single individual and their engagement(s) with the agency.

Final set of variables

For the police, S01 and S02 sites, some variables were lifted directly from the case management systems. Others which were derived from free text in the case files were coded into new variables, using grounded analysis to read and develop coding categories. Some were re-coded several times, condensing the categories until they were saturated and there were enough cases in each.

In Insights the variables had already been cleaned, checked and pre-coded, and duplicates removed by the SafeLives data team. However, key variables were selected from amongst the 700 variables recorded for each case. Using the four headings of interest, the most relevant variables were selected.

The final list of variables across the police, S01 and S02 sites, and the Insights dataset, was as follows. A fuller description of each variable and decision-making about coding categories can be found in Appendix C. These variables are presented in the data tables in chapters 6 to 8. Where variables do not exist in a dataset this is indicated by greyed-out cells. The criminal justice variables are only reported in the analysis in chapter 8, since the quality of the variables was too poor to report comparatively across the four datasets (as the tables in chapters 6 and 7 do).

Site: Police, S01, S02, Insights

Victim variables

- Age: by ONS age brackets <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45+, Don't Know
- Age (grouped): <25 yrs, 25 yrs and over
- Gender: Male, Female, Don't Know
- Sexual orientation: 'Heterosexual', LGBT, Don't Know
- Ethnicity: Black African, Black Caribbean, Other Black, Turkish/Kurdish/Iranian, Other Arab, Asian British, Bangladeshi, Indian, Pakistani, Other South Asian, Gypsy/Irish Traveller, White British/Irish, Other White, Other/Don't Know.
- Ethnicity (grouped): Black/African/Caribbean/Black British, Middle Eastern/Arab, South Asian, White British/European, Don't Know
- Ethnicity (grouped): South Asian, Non South Asian
- Nationality (grouped): British/EEA National, Pakistani, Other, Don't Know
- Nationality (grouped): British/EEA National, Non British/EEA National
- Immigration status: No Recourse to Public Funds, Has Recourse to Public Funds, Don't Know
- Religion: Atheist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Don't Know
- Victim and perpetrator relationship: current or ex intimate partner only, current or ex intimate partner and in-law(s), current or ex intimate partner and natal family, current or ex intimate partner and in-laws and natal family, in-law(s) only, natal family only, in-law(s) and natal family, Don't Know
- Victim and perpetrator relationship (grouped): current or ex intimate partner involved, current or ex intimate partner not involved, Don't Know
- Victim and perpetrator relationship (grouped): current or ex intimate partner acting alone, current or ex intimate partner acting with others, Don't Know

Perpetrator variables

- Age: by ONS age brackets <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45+, Don't Know
- Gender: Primary perpetrator male, Primary perpetrator female, Don't Know

- Gender (derived variable): Female perpetrator included, Female perpetrator not included, Don't Know
- Ethnicity (grouped): Black/African/Caribbean/Black British, Middle Eastern/Arab, South Asian, White British/European, Other/Don't Know
- Nationality (grouped): British/EEA National, Pakistani, Other, Don't Know
- Religion: Atheist, Christian, Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Don't Know
- Number of perpetrators: Single, Multiple, Don't Know
- Who are female perpetrator(s): current or ex wife or girlfriend, mother-in-law, sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law, mother-in-law & sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law, own mother, own sister(s) or aunt(s), own mother & sister(s) or aunt(s), mother in law & own mother

Abuse profile variables

- Forced marriage involved: No, Yes
- Forced marriage – nature: Actual/attempted, Threat/risk
- Forced marriage overlap with HBA: Forced marriage without HBA, Forced marriage with HBA
- Physical abuse: Yes, No/Don't Know
- Sexual abuse: Yes, No/Don't Know
- Coercion/emotional control: Yes, No/Don't Know
- Harassment/stalking: Yes, No/Don't Know
- Threats to kill: Yes, No/Don't Know
- Multiple forms of abuse: 1 form, 2 forms, 3 forms, 4 forms, 5 forms, 6 forms, Don't Know
- Risk level: High risk (10+), Non high risk (under 10), Don't Know
- MARAC threshold: Yes, No

Criminal Justice System (CJS) variables

- Known to police: Yes, No, Don't Know
- Crime classification: Crime associated, No crime associated, Don't Know

- Arrest: Arrest made, No arrest made, Don't Know
- Charge: Perpetrator charged, Cautioned, Total No Further Action, Other/Don't Know
- Offences: a pre-coded long list of offence categories under the headings 'Offences against the person' and 'Offences against property'
- Convictions and penalties: a pre-coded long list of penalties

A new variable—*Type of honour-based abuse*

During descriptive analysis of the case profiles (findings reported in chapters 6 and 7), three distinct types of case emerged. These were based on the relationships between victims and perpetrators, and the number of perpetrators. Hester and Lilley (2016) have shown how the relationship between victim and perpetrator in cases of interpersonal abuse can be a key feature pertinent to differentiating different types of case.

Starting with the police dataset, each case was given a descriptive code which listed all the different perpetrators in the case and their relationship(s) to the victim. Initially this comprised a list of 11 codes: these were re-coded in several rounds using grounded methods (revisiting the case records until the categories were saturated and then collapsing smaller categories together). The final four categories from the initial coding in the police dataset were:

- Intimate partner violence only—a single perpetrator, who is a current or ex intimate partner. Occasionally these cases involved explicit or implicit pressure (but not active abuse) from other family members, usually on the victim to remain in the relationship.
- Family abuse only—no intimate partner involved, but one or more family members (either in-laws or natal family)
- Intimate partner violence AND Family abuse—combination of the above categories. These cases involved multiple perpetrators, including a current or ex intimate partner AND one or more members of natal family and/or in-laws
- Other—generally involving multiple perpetrators and/or victims; most cases were described in earlier coding rounds as 'family feuds' due to the complex, multi-layered nature of the relationships and abuse going several ways; many contained partial data.

The next step was checking to see whether the categories held up in the other datasets. The S01 and S02 dataset cases were coded on the same basis, and it was found that they did. However, the 'Other' category was not evident in these datasets. Because the S01 and S02 case files were more detailed than the police, it seemed possible that the 'Other' category just represented cases with too partial information to allow a designation. The nine cases in 'Other' were included in the final dataset, but excluded from analysis (SPSS was told to treat them as missing).

So, the final three categories across the police, S01 and S02 datasets were as follows:

Type I: Partner abuse

Type II: Family abuse

Type III: Partner plus family abuse

To investigate further why cases involving only an intimate partner as an active perpetrator were flagged as honour-based abuse, all *Type I* case files were further examined for evidence of what the 'honour' element was. This was done in a grounded way, re-reading the case files and describing any mentions (explicit or implicit) of honour/shame discourses or motivations. Chapter 6 reports these findings. As a result of this exploration, *Type I* was assigned two subtypes: (*Type Ia*) Partner abuse only, and (*Type Ib*) Partner abuse with honour control.

A proxy variable was created in the Insights dataset to replicate the three types, combining two variables: the relationship with the primary perpetrator, and whether there were multiple perpetrators.

- If Primary Perpetrator was a current or ex intimate partner and there were not multiple perpetrators=*Type I*
- If Primary Perpetrator was a current or ex intimate partner and there were multiple perpetrators=*Type II*
- If Primary Perpetrator was Family Member (whether or not multiple perpetrators)=*Type III*

Analysis–Introduction

Case files are open to both quantitative and qualitative analysis, because they contain data that are largely qualitative, in the form of “extracts of natural language”, but also contain information that is “already numerate (ages, dates of birth etc) and information that can easily be converted into codes or numbers (gender, ethnicity, employment status etc)” (Hayes and Devaney, 2004, p.318). Analysis for this study employed both descriptive thematic methods and quantitative methods. First, a descriptive thematic analysis by overarching themes (victim, perpetrator, forms of abuse) was conducted of the case files in the police/S01/S02 combined dataset, using key variables to identify case characteristics and key narratives—these results are profiled in chapters 6 and 7. Second, quantitative analysis was conducted on all four datasets, looking at descriptive statistics (percentages and Pearson’s chi-squares for association) first split by dataset (chapters 6 and 7) and then by *type* of case (chapter 8). Finally, quantitative analysis in the form of logistic regression was run on the datasets, to test whether the associations observed between predictor variables and the outcomes *type*, *intimate partner perpetrator* and *forced marriage* remained significant when the other variables were controlled, and to test the direction of those associations (chapter 8).

Analysis–Key informant interviews

I conducted informal interview discussions with eight ‘key informants’ across the three data collection sites (police, S01 and S02), to inform the emerging themes for analysis. The interviewees were strategic and operational leads for honour-based abuse. These discussions were conducted after initial thematic and descriptive statistical analysis of the cases had been done. Interlocutors were asked (before being shown any results) to describe key characteristics of honour-based abuse cases (victim, perpetrator, abuse, criminal justice processes), whether and how honour-based abuse might differ from domestic and intimate partner abuse. They were then shown some initial analysis and asked to reflect on the three types I suggested were emerging. Their reflections on these questions included that:

- the underlying causes and motivations of honour-based abuse and domestic and intimate partner abuse were similar, all driven by gendered narratives around power and control;
- cases of honour-based abuse could be differentiated from individual cases of domestic and intimate partner abuse, principally on the grounds of multiple perpetrators, and of (extended) family member perpetrators;
- victims tended to cover a range of ages, with younger women involved with forced marriage (20s and younger), whilst older women (30s and older) might be involved with leaving an abusive relationship;
- victims came from a range of ethnicities, but South Asian ethnicities were the most common local BME demographics in these areas;
- extended family and community often provided pressure around honour and shame, but actual abuse was usually carried out by (often more than one) family member;
- females (including mothers and mothers-in-law) could be involved in perpetration, in a variety of roles from active to passive. This stemmed from women's gendered roles in upholding honour within the family, and these women might be in fear of implications for their own (or other female family members') reputation and honour;
- honour-based abuse was a pattern of controlling and isolating behaviour which involved a range of different abuses, starting with emotional control and manipulation and often escalating to other forms;
- almost all forced marriage occurred in a context of honour-based abuse: it might be used as one way to make a victim comply with the family's wishes around her behaviour, as a punishment for perceived transgressions—or honour-based abuse might be used to force a victim to remain in an unwanted marriage;
- honour-based abuse cases were always treated as priority (in some areas automatically as high risk), due to the number of perpetrators and the unknown nature of the risks—particularly as (unlike domestic abuse) many perpetrators might have no prior criminal record or be known to the police;
- my three 'types' of case (which I set out for them) did reflect the profiles of cases they saw. Abuse from an intimate partner only, sometimes with that partner using honour as a tool of control, sometimes with pressure from the extended family (implicit or

explicit), was recognised. Abuse from natal family members, often linked to forced marriage and with younger victims, was also recognised; as was abuse from both a partner and in-laws, often relating to daughter-in-law roles in joint families, and typically to immigrant wives.

These discussions were used (a) as informal confirmation that my concept of the three types, and the features associated with each, were on the right track; and (b) to help guide which characteristics and relationships between variables were examined in subsequent analysis.

Descriptive case analysis—police/S01/S02 cases

Case summaries from the 162 files from the police, S01 and S02 sites were descriptively analysed by theme in the following way. For each variable, column filters in Excel were used to sort cases and select only those cases which met a particular theme and category and category value. ‘Themes’ were: victim variables, perpetrator variables, abuse profile, and criminal justice interactions. ‘Categories’ were sub-headings within themes: namely victim gender, victim age, victim ethnicity, and so on. ‘Category values’ were the groups which cases fell into within each category, namely: female victim, male victim; or South Asian victim, non South Asian victim.

So, for example, a column filter was used to select only cases involving a female victim. From this sub-group of cases, a few illustrative cases were selected and the case summaries for these cases, along with a brief description of who was the victim and perpetrator(s) in the case were included in the text tables in chapters 6 and 7 (see below about the process for selecting cases for inclusion in the tables). This was then replicated for cases involving only a male victim, and then for cases involving both a female and male victim, using column filters to select cases. Again, for each of these category values, an illustrative selection of case summaries was included in the text tables. This process of filtering by theme and category, then further by category value and selecting an illustrative set of cases from each category value was replicated for each key variable. The purpose was to use the quantitative variables to allow descriptive comparison and contrast between the sub-groups of cases which involved different victim, perpetrator and abuse characteristics. So, for each category (e.g. victim gender), the text tables in chapters 6 and 7 contain a set of case summaries which compare

and contrast those cases involving different groups (e.g. female and male victims). These cases summaries were described and discussed in the narrative which follows each of these text tables, to start to build up a picture of the similarities and differences between the sub-groups for each variable, and identify any patterns which could be further explored in the subsequent quantitative analysis (chi-squares and regression).

Once the cases were filtered into sub-groups, a decision was required about whether to include in the descriptive text tables every single case in that group (i.e. a 100% sample), or just a selection. The former was deemed to be too unwieldy and lengthy.³ Therefore, to select which cases to include, the emerging variable for the three 'types' of case (based on the number of perpetrators and their relationship to the victim) were used to further filter the cases.

Pivot tables in Excel were used to further sort the filtered cases (e.g. female victims only) into the three 'types' (e.g. female victims with partner-only perpetrators; female victims with family member perpetrators; female victims with both partner and family member perpetrators). Then (provided there was more than one case falling into each 'type') between two and four cases were selected randomly from each 'type' and the case summaries of those cases included in the text tables. This method was deemed appropriate for the exploratory descriptive profiling conducted in chapters 6 and 7 on two grounds: one, no claims were made about the firm representativeness of the cases selected for the tables—they are described as 'illustrative' and exploratory; and two, the purpose of this descriptive analysis was to start to identify emerging patterns of similarity or difference amongst the cases, which were subsequently tested using quantitative statistical methods (Pearson's chi-squares and logistic regression).

Previous studies have taken a similar approach to developing types from case files, such as Hester (2015) and Hester (2013a), who used framework grids to analyse case file data and compile case 'stories', and Dobash and Dobash (2015) who used case files to explore sets of

³ With the exception of the sub-group of White British victims (table 11), where 100% of cases were included as it was a small group and the theme was explored in particular depth.

characteristics about victims, perpetrators and the nature of abuse (comprising both quantitative and qualitative data).

Quantitative analysis—all four datasets

Quantitative analysis took two forms:

(1) **Descriptive statistics**, comprising:

- a. **frequencies** for all datasets (using Excel and SPSS), setting out frequencies for key variables under three headings (victim characteristics, perpetrator characteristics and abuse profile), and comparing these across the four datasets (chapters 6 and 7) [these were used to sort and organise the cases by key variables, from which case summaries were selected for descriptive profiling in the text tables in chapters 6 and 7, as outlined above];
- b. **Pearson's chi-square statistic** (using SPSS) of key victim, perpetrator and abuse variables as they related to each other and, in particular, as they related to the three abuse types developed from the case files. This was run for all four datasets (findings presented in chapters 6 to 8).

(2) **Logistic regression** (using SPSS—binomial and multinomial regression) of key victim, perpetrator, abuse and criminal justice variables as they related to (a) three abuse types, (b) presence or absence of intimate partner as perpetrator, and (c) presence or absence of forced marriage (findings presented in chapter 8).

Descriptive statistics

Having cleaned and coded the police, S01, S02 and Insights data into comparable variables, I ran descriptive frequencies in Excel and then in SPSS to summarise the data (Proctor, 2004). Case frequencies were combined with the descriptive case summaries by theme and compared/contrasted in chapters 6 and 7 to start to build profiles of the victims, perpetrators, their relationship(s) and the nature of the abuse. Having developed these profiles into three main types of case based on the relationship(s) between victim and perpetrator(s), cross-tabs with Pearson's chi-square statistic were used to test statistically significant associations

between key features and the types. The data tables in chapter 8 set out descriptive frequencies for key features by *type*, and indicate with asterisks which variables were found to have statistically significant associations with *type*. A set of variables around criminal justice system interactions were included in these frequencies, and were also tested for significant associations. Pearson's chi-square statistic tests the association between two variables, including whether the relationship between the variables is significant (at $p < 0.05$, $p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.001$). It was selected as a suitable non-parametric test to use for identifying associations between categorical data (Field, 2005). Field identifies a number of assumptions which should be met in order for the results to be valid. These were checked for each test. Some were invalid because they violated the assumption that there should be a minimum of five cases in each sub-group (this was taken as no more than 20% of sub-groups containing five or fewer cases)—these are indicated in the data tables with 'test not valid'.

Logistic regression

Pearson's chi-square test does not identify the direction of the association between variables, nor say anything about the strength of influence of one on another. For this reason, logistic regression (binomial and multinomial) was used to examine the direction of the associations, and test whether the associations of each individual variable with the outcome variable remained significant when controlling for other variables. This study was less interested in finding a single model which could accurately predict a case to a particular outcome (often the primary aim of regression modelling). Rather, the purpose of regression here was to test whether the associations found to be significant in the descriptive statistics held up when other key variables were held constant. For this reason, it was considered an appropriate test for this study. Logistic regression is an appropriate method for use with categorical data: multinomial for testing prediction to more than two outcome categories, and binomial for prediction to two categories (Field, 2005).

Three different outcome variables were modelled using logistic regression – for each, several models were fitted to the data. Only the final models are reported in the results tables in chapter 8 (the process of model development is set out in Appendix D). Although the primary aim was to test associations between predictor variables and *type*, the descriptive statistics indicated that cases seemed to be most different depending on whether they involved an

intimate partner perpetrator (with or without other perpetrators). So, a second outcome variable was tested: whether predictor variables were associated with the involvement or not of an *intimate partner perpetrator*. Finally, to address research question 2 on the interaction of forced marriage with honour-based abuse, a third outcome variable was modelled—whether certain variables could predict if a case would involve a *forced marriage*. The three outcome variables modelled were:

1. **The three types** were modelled using multi-nomial logistic regression—this tested whether the associations between variables and types found in the descriptive statistics remained significant when other variables in the model were held constant. The Insights datasets only was used.
2. **Intimate partner vs no intimate partner perpetrator** was modelled using binomial logistic regression—this tested whether the associations between variables and involvement of an intimate partner perpetrator remained significant when other variables in the model were held constant. The three types were collapsed into two (Types I and III were combined), based on whether a case included abuse from a current or ex intimate partner or not. This model was run first with the police/S01/S02 dataset, then with the Insights dataset.
3. **Forced marriage vs no forced marriage** was modelled using binomial logistic regression—this tested whether the associations between variables and the involvement of forced marriage in a case remained significant when other variables in the model were held constant. The Insights datasets only was used.

For all three models, the choice of predictor variables was based on which variables had already been shown in the descriptive statistical testing (chi-squares) to have significant associations with *type*. Due to the relatively small size of the police/S01/S02 dataset, only Model 2 was run using this dataset (see Appendix D for further discussion). All three models were run on the Insights dataset.

Ethical and methodological challenges

Ethics approval for the study, including accessing the police and agency data, and conducting the informal interview discussions, was granted by the University of Bristol SPS Ethics Committee on 12 February 2015 (at Annex E).

Accessing police data for research: a discussion

Having held initial discussions with seven police forces about accessing their data, it became apparent that (a) each police force had a very different process for dealing with data access requests and (b) whilst many operational officers were keen to help, once their information governance teams were involved, things became complicated and there was often confusion of advice between teams. There was considerable variation—some forces had established protocols for research requests and information teams who could test requests against their guidance and give positive advice about how to proceed. Others applied a blanket policy of treating all data requests as Freedom of Information requests (despite a clear statement that it was not), or simply said that they did not have time to help. One or two did not reply at all, despite multiple contacts. Where a request was successful, it was where a force had a well-established protocol for researchers to outline their requests, detail what information they proposed to access and how they would treat it, including specifics on confidentiality and secure storage. This process took a long time, on average at least four to six months from initial request.

The last few years have seen an opening-up of some police data for transparency and research purposes. Initiatives like local crime maps, published for each force by the National Policing Improvement Agency (now the College of Policing) since 2011, the Coalition Government's initiative on Open Data and the inclusion of police recorded crime statistics in the Crime Survey England and Wales, made it easier to compare key crime figures across forces (Administrative Data Liaison Service (ADLS), no date). This increasing use of police data for research purposes does not seem to have translated to police records. The ADLS underlines that there is "little central guidance for forces regarding who they should release their data to for research purposes". It advises that "in terms of accessing police data, each force should be considered an independent organisation with separate policies and procedures. Even

when approval for a research project is granted by a central government or policing organisation, researchers must still apply individually to each of the forces concerned. Ultimately the decision to provide data rests with the Chief Constable of a force” (Administrative Data Liaison Service, no date). Clearly, research access to police records may be a more complex and sensitive matter, since records contain more nuanced information and personal data. However, my research experience shows that there are forces who deal quickly, well and thoughtfully with requests; whereas others seem to lack confidence in knowing how to respond, which can tend towards an over-cautious response. Hayes and Devaney identified ‘organisational gatekeepers’ as a particular challenge in doing research with health and social care case files. They suggest that gatekeepers were increasingly restricting access to such data for research, which they argue raises questions about the clarity of roles and responsibilities for approving research in these settings. Their experiences in this regard strikingly echo those in trying to access police data for this study: in particular, they found that “managers with direct responsibility for the delivery of services [gave] their approval for the research to proceed, only for other managers who had responsibilities under the Data Protection Act 1998 to express reservations” (Hayes and Devaney, 2004, p.322).

Literature on conducting research with police records in England and Wales shows that, in general, research access has tended to be granted when commissioned by the police themselves (e.g. Hester, 2015), or when conducted by a researcher with a strong reputation or a national body with a specialist profile (e.g. Hester, 2013a). The ADLS advises that “preference will usually be given to recognised research bodies where their research is supported by a central government agency” (Administrative Data Liaison Service (ADLS), no date). Cockbain and Knutsson note that, in their research with police records, their status as Home Office-commissioned researchers “provided a significant degree of legitimisation, which would have been difficult to generate if the research had been derived from other, independent means”. They comment that “success in gaining permission to conduct research with a police agency is likely to depend on a range of factors, including the interest in the subject being researched by senior management in the agency concerned, the perceived reputational risk to the agency of participating in the research, the anticipated burden on staff time resulting from participation in the research, the reputation of the researcher requesting permission and the extent to which a relationship of trust already exists between the

researcher and the policing agency” (Cockbain and Knutsson, 2015, p.37). Brookman also added “serendipity, determination and good negotiation skills” on behalf of the researcher (Brookman, 1999, p.48).

Other individual researchers conducting research with police records have described the lengthy process of gaining research access. Matolcsi (forthcoming, 2017) found that even Freedom of Information requests receive very different responses with rationales varying considerably between forces. From the preliminary scoping work I conducted with forces for this study, there are a few lessons that can be drawn more broadly about doing research with police data:

- Forces have very varying approaches to flagging and identifying honour-based abuse;
- Because (other than forced marriage) honour-based abuse is not a specific offence, cases can be associated with a range of different crimes – or no crime;
- In some forces, an honour-based abuse flag automatically means the case is passed to a specialist officer or unit for investigation/support;
- Quality of data varies;
- Ability to search varies;
- In many forces, an assignment of honour-based abuse seems to be interchangeable with forced marriage and FGM;
- Whilst many forces can describe their operational approach to responding to a possible HBV incident, few have analysed the cases they have dealt with, to see whether there are patterns or differences;
- It is a good thing that most forces are cautious about sharing data on honour-based abuse cases – this may suggest that they have understood the sensitivity of this data and the potential danger to victims of their identities becoming known.

Overarching ethical challenges

For a range of reasons (a hidden crime, often closed communities, fears of racism and Islamophobia, victims may not recognise what is happening to them as honour-based, they may not report it), honour-based abuse is an extremely hard area to research, ethically challenging and subjects are hard to access (Hester *et al*, 2008; Chantler *et al*, 2009). This

study encountered significant definitional problems, as discussed in earlier chapters. These elements led me to a research design based around using analysis of existing datasets; an approach I describe as case file analysis or clinical data mining.

As Epstein (2010) notes, clinical data mining brings its own ethical challenges, not least around consent, which is often impractical or impossible to obtain from the original subjects of the case records, and then around anonymization and confidential treatment of data. This section discusses some key ethical challenges in the study and how they were overcome.

Informed consent

Using existing case file data generates specific ethical challenges around consent which are different to common considerations on working directly with subjects. Hayes and Devaney (2004) note that there are methodological, legal and practical challenges with seeking consent directly from data subjects in doing research with case files. They make a strong case that attempting to seek such consent can result in evidence being partial or biased (because those who refused to consent would unlikely be a representative subset), and that it is very hard to determine who consent should be sought from, who would be in a position to give it, and attempting to contact service users (potentially some time) after they had exited a service might breach confidentiality and cause them embarrassment or distress. They argue for a pragmatic approach, in which not seeking direct consent from service users is ethical for two main reasons: first, the research is aiming to improve services ('do good') and therefore benefit the group that those service users represent; and second, that in place of consent stringent safeguards around anonymity and confidentiality of the data should be sufficient. They suggest this should involve not recording any information that could potentially identify an individual service user, storing data securely, and ensuring that data are only reported in an anonymised and aggregated format (Hayes and Devaney, 2004).

All the challenges they identify were present in this study. Because data had been collected by someone else at a prior point, it was not deemed possible to contact the original subjects to consent them—for example, up-to-date contact details were often not available. Indeed, attempting to do so may well have actively put them in danger, especially when they were already vulnerable victims in a high-risk area of abuse. So the first set of questions around

consent related to what was practical (Is it possible to consent individuals? Are they identified in the dataset? Are there up-to-date contact details available?) and then what was safe (Would it be safe to contact them? Does it risk putting them in greater danger or unwittingly alerting their family members to the fact that they have sought help, or to their whereabouts?). In both sets of questions, with the police and agency data, it was clear immediately from the dates of the cases, the nature of the abuse, and in talking to the front-line workers that it would be neither safe nor often possible to contact original subjects. The harm/benefit analysis to subjects of trying to contact them for consent would weigh heavily on the side of harm.

So, the next set of questions were around whether and how consent was originally obtained and whether this was proportionate and sufficient for the purposes of this re-analysis. This was a harder area to investigate. For one victims' NGO (S01) I only looked at records for cases where the victim had specifically consented to data monitoring for research purposes: this was deemed to be sufficient as they had consented to use of their data for this general purpose. For the other agency (S02), the set of profile data which was extracted by the in-house analyst was already anonymised, so I did not have names or contact details of the individuals involved. When, on a revisit, I looked up some of the cases by their service unique ID number, I did access their files containing personal identifying information. However, as above, there was no proportionate way to re-contact these individuals to consent them; therefore, following Hayes and Devaney (2004), the decision was taken just to anonymise all the cases on site and conduct analysis only with anonymised data. In this way, although subjects were not individually consented, their data was treated as carefully and confidentially as possible. With the police site, consent from individual subjects had not been originally sought, but police are able to record and hold personal data provided they ensure that its treatment complies with Data Protection Act requirements.

Finally, what consent would be required from the gatekeeping organisations which held the data now and would be consenting to its use for this research? Gilbert (2008) notes that many existing datasets tend to have inbuilt safeguards about the use of the data by controlling release of those data by requiring researchers to sign access and use agreements. This was the case in the police site, which had an established protocol for accessing case records and

for the treatment and storage of data for research. The force drew up a data access agreement which was signed by them, me and the University (a copy of this agreement is not appended, as it contains details which might identify the force). For the victims' NGOs, I drew up a written agreement setting out what data I would use, how I would store and treat the data. When I returned for data collection, this was talked through and signed with the service managers at both sites (a template copy is at Appendix A).

All the Insights data was pre-anonymised before I accessed it, so consent was more clear cut. The NGOs collecting this data originally all consented their clients to monitoring and data sharing for the purposes of research at the point of data collection, and those NGOs consented to selected anonymised, aggregate data sharing in their Insights contracts with SafeLives.

Anonymity and confidentiality

Data confidentiality and anonymity with secondary data holds different challenges to collecting your own data. On the one hand, in some cases it may be already anonymised and securely held, in which case it may be safer than data collected directly by researchers. The data in this study varied considerably—some were already completely anonymised in the form of unique case IDs and all the data points standardized—but in other cases I had access to detailed files containing people's names, addresses, telephone numbers, health numbers and so on.

A noteworthy feature of the research method I employed with existing case files was that, whilst it was challenging to persuade agency gatekeepers (especially in the police) to grant me access to the full case records, once access was granted it was quite unfettered - and in some cases I was able to read a lot of personal information. This was especially true of the police data. Whilst my data processing agreement with the police force was specific about how and where to access and download the data, the search parameters of the cases I could look at, and that any data taken off site should be anonymised, it did not stipulate which elements of the data should be anonymised or in what way.

This raises some interesting questions from a research ethics perspective. It shows that clinical data mining can rely quite heavily on organisational gatekeepers to safeguard personal data and thoroughly vet the credentials and abilities of individual researchers applying for access; but that, once a researcher is given access, they may then need to apply high levels of personal and situation-specific critical judgement about how to carefully treat and anonymise data.

In practical terms, this led me to take several measures to ensure that, where I had access to personal information, it was carefully anonymised and kept confidential. First, I considered what (if any) requirements the gateway agency had about accessing and processing the data. With the police, my data access agreement dealt with all aspects of data processing—whereas with the victims' services, the data agreement I signed with each agency set out how I would anonymise the data and keep identities confidential. For all sites these agreements established that I would anonymise all the records data before removing it from the site. This meant I had to do all the anonymizing by hand at the site.

Second, I considered how to anonymise the cases: what information needed redacting and to what degree? I began by assigning specific IDs in place of victim names, perpetrator names and so on (for instance 'victim 1 name', 'perpetrator name [male]'). However, I quickly realised that this was time-consuming and unnecessary; instead, I could just remove any identifying detail and replace with 'xx' or 'V' or 'P'—the meaning of the redacted word was clear from the context.

This process took time at each site, since I did not know what information would be in each record and so had to trawl through lots of information, paying close attention to identify which elements needed to be anonymized in each entry. The anonymizing of the police data took longest as there were more cases; this was done over several weeks with return visits to the police stations. The process at the agency sites was done in two visits to each site (a two-day visit followed by a one-day visit at each).

Finally, care was given to protect the identities of the services and police site involved in the research. All three were given a unique identifier ('police site', service S01 and service S02)

which delineated the type of service they were without revealing the specific identity or location.

The Insights data were all pre-anonymised and coded, so anonymity was not an issue. Consideration was, however, given to protecting the identity of individual services in the dataset—the names of each service was removed from the dataset before any analysis was conducted.

Database management and storage

For the police site, the data access agreement specified that data could only be removed on a force-approved, encrypted memory stick. The study's agreement from the University's SPS Ethics Committee stated that data should be securely transferred and stored on a password-protected server at the University. Once the police cases were fully anonymised, I obtained a force-approved encrypted memory stick and transferred the data files onto these to remove them for analysis. The agency data were transferred onto a password-protected memory stick. Data from all three sites were transferred onto a password-protected University of Bristol computer for analysis. Any data sheets which were printed out were either then destroyed if their use was complete, or were stored in a locked drawer in the postgraduate office on the university site.

All paper records were kept in a lock-fitted filing cabinet in the postgraduates' offices at SPS. The building is secure and accessed by electronic card. In accordance with the Data Protection Act and the University SPS Ethics Committee's requirements, after completion of the research, electronic files will be password-protected and archived on the dedicated SPS drive for ten years.

Although Insights data were all pre-anonymised before access was obtained, consideration was still given to secure and confidential storage of the dataset. The data was transferred onto and stored on a password-protected University of Bristol computer.

Chapter 6: FINDINGS (Descriptive analysis)–Who is involved in honour-based abuse?

Introduction

This chapter and chapter 7 address research question 1, namely: What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales (for those accessing police and victims' NGOs): who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve? This chapter profiles the people in the datasets–victims and perpetrators–and shows how some of the victim and perpetrator characteristics interact to form distinct groups of cases, particularly around their relationships. Chapter 7 profiles what forms of abuse are involved. These two chapters focus on the description and profiling of the cases in these datasets: emerging patterns are then quantitatively tested in chapter 8.

WHO ARE THE VICTIMS?

Table 4: Key characteristics of victims of honour-based abuse (Police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)⁴

Victim variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Victim age										
Under 18yrs	5	6%	2	7%	3	6%	78	6%	88	6%
18-24 yrs	21	24%	11	38%	19	40%	248	19%	299	20%
25-34 yrs	42	49%	13	45%	14	30%	551	42%	620	42%
35-44 yrs	9	10%	2	7%	5	11%	315	24%	331	23%
45yrs+	5	5%	1	3%	1	2%	118	9%	125	8%
DK	4	5%	0	0%	5	11%	2	<1%	11	1%
Victim gender										
Includes female	73	85%	27	93%	43	91%	1,246	95%	1,389	94%
Includes male	16	19%	2	7%	4	9%	39	3%	61	4%
DK	2	2%	0	0%	0	0%	26	2%	28	2%

⁴ Sample numbers are as listed in the column headings for each table, unless otherwise specified against a variable.

Victim variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
Victim sexual orientation										
'Heterosexual'	60	70%	27	93%	43	91%	1,235	94%	1,365	93%
LGBT	3	3%	2	7%	0	0%	13	1%	18	1%
DK	23	27%	0	0%	4	9%	64	17%	91	6%
Victim ethnicity										
Black African/Caribbean	9	10%	2	7%	0	0%	104	8%	115	8%
<i>Black African</i>	8	-	2	-	0	-	77	-	87	-
<i>Black Caribbean</i>	1	-	0	-	0	-	4	-	5	-
<i>Other Black</i>	0	-	0	-	0	-	23	-	23	-
Middle Eastern/Arab	4	5%	5	17%	1	2%	26	2%	36	2%
<i>Turkish/Kurdish/Iranian</i>	3	-	1	-	1	-	9	-	14	-
<i>Other Arab</i>	1	-	4	-	0	-	17	-	22	-
South Asian	48	56%	21	72%	44	94%	828	63%	941	64%
<i>Asian British</i>							255	-	255	-
<i>Bangladeshi</i>	9	-	1	-	0	-	88	-	98	-
<i>Indian</i>	6	-	12	-	7	-	123	-	148	-
<i>Pakistani</i>	27	-	8	-	23	-	315	-	373	-
<i>Other South Asian</i>	6	-	0	-	11	-	47	-	64	-
White British/European	11	13%	1	3%	1	2%	286	22%	299	20%
<i>Gypsy/Irish Traveller</i>							5	-	5	-
<i>White British/Irish</i>	10	-	1	-	1	-	241	-	253	-
<i>Other White</i>	1	-	0	-	0	-	40	-	41	-
Other/DK	14	16%	0	0%	1	2%	68	5%	83	6%
Victim nationality										
British/EEA National	18	21%	15	52%	38	81%	499	38%	570	39%
Pakistani	10	12%	1	3%	3	6%	315	24%	329	22%
Other	19	22%	12	41%	1	2%	498	38%	530	36%
DK	39	45%	1	<1%	5	11%	0	0%	45	3%
Victim immigration status									<i>n=1388</i>	
No Recourse to Public Funds			13	45%	4	9%	262	20%	279	20%
DK			2	7%	3	6%	39	3%	44	3%

Victim variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
Victim religion									<i>n=162</i>	
Atheist	0	0%	1	3%	0	0%			1	<1%
Christian	0	0%	2	7%	1	2%			3	2%
Hindu	0	0%	3	10%	0	0%			3	2%
Muslim	2	2%	14	48%	18	38%			34	21%
Sikh	0	0%	7	24%	0	0%			7	4%
DK	84	98%	2	7%	28	60%			114	70%
Victim and perpetrator relationship									<i>n=162</i>	
(Ex) intimate partner only	18	21%	4	14%	1	2%			23	14%
(Ex) intimate partner and in-law(s)	21	24%	10	34%	4	4%			35	22%
(Ex) intimate partner and natal family	10	12%	2	6%	13	28%			25	16%
(Ex) intimate partner and in-law(s) and natal family	1	1%	2	6%	3	6%			6	4%
In-law(s) only	9	10%	0	0%	2	4%			11	7%
Natal family only	26	30%	11	40%	23	49%			60	37%
In-law(s) and natal family	0	0%	0	0%	1	2%			1	<1%
DK	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%			1	<1%
Summary: (ex) partner involved?	<i>n=86</i>		<i>n=29</i>		<i>n=47</i>		<i>n=1312</i>		<i>n=1474</i>	
(Ex) partner involved	50	58%	18	62%	21	45%	930	71%	1,019	69%
(Ex) partner not involved	35	41%	11	38%	26	55%	356	27%	426	29%
DK	1	1%	0	0%	0	0%	26	2%	27	2%
(Ex) partner alone or with others	<i>n=50</i>		<i>n=18</i>		<i>n=21</i>		<i>n=930</i>		<i>n=1019</i>	
(Ex) partner acting alone	18	36%	4	22%	1	5%	521	56%	544	53%
(Ex) partner acting with others	32	64%	14	78%	20	95%	398	43%	464	46%
DK	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	11	1%	11	1%

Summary–victim characteristics

This section summarises the key victim characteristics found in the analysis in this chapter as set out in table 4; the following sections set out those characteristics in more detail.

This study confirms the gender-based construction of honour-based abuse as a form of (primarily male) violence against women. The data show it to be highly gendered, with overall 94% female victims. Male victims were found to be involved in 4% of cases, sometimes as part of a couple involving a female victim too (see table 4). Where there were male victims, the circumstances of the cases supported previous literature (e.g. Eade, 2010) about the rationale/justification for their abuse—for example, because they are gay, to honour family commitments around marriage alliances, to separate them from a girlfriend deemed ‘unsuitable’, or occasionally to secure a spousal visa for a family member or family friend from overseas.

Victims in this sample were mainly (93%) ‘heterosexual’ (table 4).⁵ Where they self-identified as LGBT (1%–18 cases), that was frequently a trigger or motivation for their abuse by family members. These cases with LGBT victims confirmed the association identified in the forced marriage literature (e.g. NPCC, 2015), namely that forced marriage can be used as an attempt by families to ‘correct’ or cover up victims’ sexual orientation. Whilst these data show a slight link between forced marriage and sexual orientation (in a higher association of forced marriage amongst LGBT victims than non-LGBT), it does not find a significant association with honour-based abuse more generally.

Victims were aged between their teens and 50s, with most in their 20s and 30s (table 4). There was a notable divergence in age between cases which involved a forced marriage and those which did not, with 63% of forced marriage case victims under 25yrs, compared with 26% of the non-forced marriage victims. This is in line with the literature around forced marriage, which shows more victims to be under 25 yrs old (e.g. HMG, 2014a). The non-forced marriage victims were most commonly aged 25–34—this is comparable to victims of domestic abuse more broadly (e.g. SafeLives, 2015).

⁵ Or in heterosexual relationships (which may not be the same thing).

More than 13 different individual ethnicities were represented (table 4). Victims in this sample were most commonly of South Asian ethnicity (64%) and, within that, mainly of Pakistani or Indian heritage. Many of this group were British. Some 8% overall were Black African or Caribbean, and 2% Middle Eastern/Arab. A surprisingly high 20% of Insights cases involved a White British victim. Of the 15 cases with White British victims investigated in the police, S01 and S02 data, three-quarters involved a BME perpetrator, and in half of these the perpetrator's family members were also involved in the abuse. This may suggest that White British victims of honour-based abuse can be abused by a BME perpetrator (sometimes also by their family) who hold beliefs which inform their expectations about the victim's behavior in a relationship and which may contribute to the abuse. It may also suggest that abusive relationships involving a BME partner are just identified by professionals as 'honour' based (rather than domestic abuse) based solely on ethnicity. A noteworthy aspect of these White British cases is the wide range of different ethnicities/nationalities amongst these BME perpetrators, including Eastern European nationalities.

There was a wide spread of victim nationalities, with 26 different countries represented (table 3). Where known, the most common was British/EEA National (39%—two-thirds of the British/EEA nationality victims were of South Asian ethnicity), followed by Pakistani nationals (22%). One-fifth (20%) of victims had an insecure immigration status with No Recourse to Public Funds. These victims will be particularly vulnerable, reliant on others (quite possibly including their abuser) to stay in the country. That 80% of victims had non-vulnerable immigration status, however, shows that both honour-based abuse and forced marriage are not primarily an 'immigrant issue', in that more victims are non-vulnerable than are recent immigrants. However, the cases did bear out previous profiles of forced marriage victims in that quite a few of the British victims were at risk of forced marriage to a foreign national.

In 70% of cases, the victim's religion was unknown (table 4). This suggests a high degree of missing knowledge around the interaction of religion and honour-based abuse. Where known, the most frequent victim religion was Muslim (21%), followed by Sikh (4%), Hindu (2%), Christian (2%) and Atheist (1%). The religious breakdown reflected the local population demographics for the areas data were collected from. Religion shows that honour-based

abuse is not limited to Muslim communities—in fact in S01, where religion was known in 93% of cases, 45% were non-Muslim and 48% Muslim.

The relationship between the victim and perpetrator was seen to be key. Added together, two-thirds of cases (69%) involved abuse from a current or ex intimate partner; of these, 53% were acting alone and 46% with others (table 4). Looking at the police/S01/S02 dataset, which shows a more detailed breakdown into groups of perpetrators, the largest single group of perpetrators was the victim's natal family only (37%), followed by intimate partner plus in-laws (22%), then intimate partner plus natal family (16%) and intimate partner only (14%). So, we can see that both the relationships(s) between victim and perpetrator(s) and the number and identity of perpetrators is key to exploring the type and nature of cases. Three distinct profiles of cases emerged from this analysis, based on the number and relationships of perpetrators to the victim. I label these *Type I*, *Type II* and *Type III*. *Type I* involved abuse from a current or ex intimate partner only: this profile looked very like non-honour related domestic abuse from an intimate partner. *Type II* involved abuse from the victim's family members, largely relating to their rejection of the family's desired match or the family's objection to their desired match. *Type III* involved abuse from both an intimate partner and in-laws.

Detail—Victim characteristics

Victim gender

Table 4 shows honour-based abuse to be a form of (primarily male) violence against women. It is highly gendered, with overall 94% female victims. There was a small subset of male victims, at 4% overall. This gender breakdown is in line with figures on other forms of domestic abuse, where around 9 in 10 victims are similarly female (e.g. SafeLives, 2015).

By way of illustration, table 5 gives a selection of cases involving female victims, male victims, and victims of both genders (i.e. male/female couples). These cases were selected to show a range of perpetrator relationships and numbers (including intimate partner only, family members, in-laws, and partner plus family members) and a range of experiences of abuse.

Proportionally more cases with male victims are included compared with their proportion in the datasets, because the literature shows that we know less about these cases.

Table 5: Sample of case summaries by victim gender (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
Female victim only			
P016	35 y.o. British Asian woman	Her husband (separated) only	Woman experiencing severe DV and threats to kill from her husband, having recently separated from him. No honour element is explicitly evidenced in the case file.
P042	21 y.o. White British woman	Her ex-husband, a 23 y.o. White Albanian male	Threats from woman's ex-husband to physically assault and kill her and her new partner. Harassment and stalking, a threat to throw acid in face, and threat to upload a sex video to internet. She says was forced to marry him against her will. There is no clear honour element other than the mention that she was forced to marry him.
P095	31 y.o. White British woman	Her ex-partner, a 29 y.o. British Bangladeshi man	Woman reporting past sexual assault by her ex-partner. He pressured the sex act on her saying that it was expected in his culture (he is Asian).
P002	45 y.o. Pakistani British woman	Her ex-husband, a 47 y.o Pakistani national	Female had her divorce finalised in Pakistan, which her husband hasn't taken well as he says it brings shame on his family. He used to threaten her when they were married stating he would kill her if she ever left him. She has recently seen him standing outside her flat and is fearful he will start stalking her.
P021	31 y.o. Pakistani national woman	Her husband, a 34 y.o. British Pakistani man, plus pressure from her natal family members	Husband assaulted his wife and is pressuring her to return to him. Her family and friends in Pakistan have urged her to reconcile with him. Unclear whether this pressure is being applied due to honour/shame, but is an added element to the case; as is pressure to reconcile due to her insecure immigration status (reliant on him).
S01OUT11	35 y.o. Black Zimbabwean woman	Her husband (separated), a 38 y.o. Black Zimbabwean man	Her husband has a criminal conviction for assaulting her, and drinks a lot of alcohol. She is fearful of possible repercussions from his family for leaving him—no current threats but there is a possible risk.
P019	24 y.o. British Pakistani woman	Her parents in UK and wider family members in Pakistan	Her family (and his) feel dishonoured by the victim rejecting her husband from an arranged marriage and seeking a divorce. They kidnapped and imprisoned her in Pakistan and assaulted her.
P039	25 y.o. British Pakistani woman	Her parents in UK	Daughter is being controlled by her parents. Subject to threats to kill for dishonouring parents by dating white boys. Called 'slag'. Her parents have previously attempted to force her to marry. Additionally they forced her brother to marry on finding out he was doing drugs.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
P075	26 y.o. British Indian woman	Her parents, plus uncle in UK	She is subject to severe physical violence and harassment from her parents and uncle due to moving in with a white boyfriend. Her family members have turned up at the boyfriend's house. Parents have made past and current threats of forced marriage.
P063	14 y.o. Kurdish national female	Her father in UK, plus paternal family members in Kurdistan.	Victim in foster care due to concerns about risk of HBV from parents due to her westernised lifestyle. She was returned to her parents whereupon they fled with her to Kurdistan. Mother and daughter then fled from family back to UK, due to risk of violence from family about the daughter's westernised behaviour. Father seemed to relent and aided their escape.
S02C30	25 y.o. British Asian woman	Her parents in the UK.	Asian British girl pregnant by her white British boyfriend (he is married and having an affair with her). Her family is unaware of the relationship or of pregnancy. She fears HBV from family if they find out. Police and IDVA helped her escape with boyfriend to another location.
P014	26 y.o. White British woman (converted to Islam)	Her husband (a Libyan national), his uncle and uncle's friends	Her husband's Libyan family rejects their marriage on the basis that she is not worthy of him. They have made various honour-based threats against both of them, including to kill her and take her baby. The husband has also perpetrated severe DV against her, including rape.
P052	33 y.o. Pakistani national woman	Her ex-husband, his sister and other of his family members	Woman is experiencing daily harassment by her ex-husband's sister and his family. There had been severe physical assaults by her ex-husband in the past. His family never approved of the marriage - said she was an inferior class.
S01OUT10	24 y.o. Indian national woman	Her husband (separated), a 27 y.o. British Indian national; and his mother	<p>Past and ongoing violence from ex- husband (separated) and his mother. She says she chose to marry him in India, but he demanded money and said he wanted to marry someone else in the UK. Her mother in law wanted her to wear traditional clothes, whilst husband wanted her to wear Western clothes. The perpetrators are in India and harassing her family who are also in India.</p> <p>Husband has threatened to 'ruin' her if sees her again. She returned to the UK as her family was being tortured by the community for her actions. Mother in law told her numerous times that she should return to India or kill herself.</p>
Male victim only			
P053	44 y.o. gay male Pakistani heritage	Man's natal family members (unspecified)	Victim is a gay male whose family hold strict honour-based beliefs. He has run away from home with his boyfriend and been disowned and disinherited as a result. He is being harassed by his family members who are trying to track him down.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S01HELP08	25 y.o. gay Sikh British national of Indian heritage	Victim's parents	Victim's parents are threatening to force him to marry in India, and are abusive, due to his being gay. Victim has fled the city and his parents are trying to trace him via his sister, threatening to send his uncles to fetch him to India. His sister was forced into marriage at a young age. He was engaged to another Sikh man. When they found out, his parents wouldn't allow him to go out of the house and took his passport. His relationship with his male fiancé broke down as a result.
S02C69	19 y.o. British male of Indian heritage	Victim's parents	Victim is being forced to marry his cousin in India by his parents. During a family holiday to India last year he was asked to get engaged to woman - he refused but was forced into it by parents. He believes that they want the marriage so wife will care for his disabled sisters, and is concerned he may be taken overseas for the marriage. He has an Indian British girlfriend who his family do not know about and is concerned for that there may be honour-based abuse if they find out. His parents are emotionally blackmailing him - threatening to send him to Africa to live with family if he does not marry. There has been prior physical abuse from his father to his mother, and there has been one incident where his father strangled him.
S02C78	20 y.o. British male of Pakistani heritage	Victim's father and other male family members	Victim has refused an arranged marriage with a female family friend to help her remain in the UK (she was subsequently deported to Pakistan). In Pakistan his father and other relatives turned up to threaten him with guns, shooting in the air - police were called and they dispersed. Concerned for his safety now back in UK (father is here too).
P012	25 y.o. male Pakistani heritage	Father-in-law	Man is divorcing his wife. Her father (who is also the victim's uncle) has threatened to shoot him, and his mother and sister in Pakistan. He says this is in revenge for the shame brought to his family by the victim divorcing his daughter.
P022	24 y.o. male Pakistani national male	(Ex) wife and her family members	Man is divorcing his wife. Her family members are threatening and harassing him due to the divorce, including threats to bar him from access to the children.
P027	38 y.o. male ethnicity not known	Wife (separated) and her sister	Male reports 4 years of domestic violence from his wife, who he has recently left. She and her sister are making threatening calls, including threats to kill him and family if he doesn't return. Abuse seems to consist of: not feeding him, isolating him from friends. There is no mention of physical assault.
P080	44 y.o. male of South Asian heritage	Ex-wife's male relatives	Victim is divorcing wife. Her family disapproved of the marriage initially and made threats against him then. Now they have come to his home and threatened to kill him if he does not leave town; also demanded £20,000 for his ex-wife.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S01OUT01	32 y.o. male Pakistani national	Wife (separated), her mother, brother, uncle	Victim's wife (separated) is threatening to harm their unborn babies and to deport him. Her family are abusive and controlling: they have made threats to kill him, and made threats against his family in Pakistan. Victim's wife has reported him as abusive to police.
Both male and female victim			
P006	23 y.o. male and 27 y.o. female, both of Pakistani heritage	Both their natal families	Victims have been in a relationship for 2 years. Both families objected to their relationship because he used to drink alcohol, which was against their religion. They suffered abuse from the families, who prevented them from seeing one another. He then attempted suicide. The families agreed to the marriage but a naked picture of her appeared on the internet, which her family blamed him for. She was forced to report him to the police because her family told her that if she did not, they would take him to Pakistan and kill him. He was persuaded to travel to Pakistan - whilst there, two men shot him, causing a bullet wound to his arm. Meanwhile she was taken to Ireland, where her uncle assaulted her and locked her in the house, preventing her access to any communication. She managed to sneak a mobile into the home and called the police and her boyfriend. Police rescued her from the address in Ireland. The boyfriend presented himself to the British embassy in Pakistan who arranged for him to be flown to Ireland. They both presented at the British embassy in Ireland who arranged for them to be flown to England, where they remain at risk as their families have friends here who will report back to them. They reported to police for protection.
P082	16 y.o. female and 19 y.o. male, ethnicity unknown	Female victim's father and male victim's family	Couple have fled a northern town due to risk of honour-based abuse. She discovered that she was engaged to marry a friend of her fathers, who was 35 years old. She fled home to her boyfriend's house; his family also disapproved of the relationship so the couple fled to another town.
P104	24 y.o. white British female, and 24 y.o. male of Pakistani ethnicity	His mother and natal family	The female victim is white, the male is Pakistani. She has a daughter of 5 years who was born out of wedlock. His family do not like the son's relationship because of the child. They have harassed the victim and verbally abused her to try to split them up. His mother has called all of his friends to find out where they live. The victim has been told to sacrifice her daughter and then the relationship will be fine.

The literature suggests that both genders experience honour-based abuse, but that their experiences of it, and the expectations of women's and men's behavior as it relates to honour, may differ. Honour as a concept is vested in the women in the family and 'defended' by the men (Brandon and Hafez, 2008). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that women will be most likely victims of honour-based abuse, and that their experience of it will differ from those of male victims.

Comparing the cases involving female and male victims in table 5 shows some similarities and some differences. The female cases seem to fall into three broad patterns, which I suggest can be described as follows:

Type I: Victims experiencing violence or stalking by their current or former intimate partner only (e.g. P016, P042, P095, P002, P021, S01OUT11). In this sample, all these cases occur at or after the point of separation – many with specific threats made not to separate (e.g. S01OUT11), or with pressure from the partner or wider family to reconcile (e.g. P021). In the wider dataset (i.e. not just the selection in table 5) there are cases which involve the intimate partner only but where the relationship is on-going (i.e. not separated).

Type II: Victims abused by their own family members for either rejecting a marriage desired by their family (e.g. P019) or choosing their own partner who their family disapproves of (e.g. P039, P075 and S02C30 all involve girls dating white boys). There is one case involving threats from own family members for her westernised lifestyle (P063).

Type III: Victims abused/threatened by both their current or former intimate partner, and other family members too. These are the victim's in-laws (partner's family) and mostly seem to relate to their rejection of the victim for being an inferior match to their son/brother (e.g. P014 rejected for being a white woman; P052 rejected for being an inferior class).

The male cases are similar to the female for *Type II*: again, these involve abuse from the victim's own family members for either rejecting a marriage desired by the family (e.g. S02C69, S02C78) or making a love match deemed unsuitable (e.g. P053, S01HELP08). There is one difference in this profile, namely the aspect of the love match that is deemed unsuitable

by the family members—for the female victims this is mostly that they are white boys, for the male victims this is more that they are gay (i.e. dating men).

Type I where the perpetrator is only the current or former intimate partner doesn't seem to exist in the male cases. Where there is abuse of a male victim from a current or former intimate partner, there is always also abuse from that partner's family (e.g. P027, S01OUT01). This is similar to *Type III*, except that it is not always clear whether the intimate partner is involved in the abuse as well, or whether it's just coming from her relatives (e.g. P012, P022, P080). In common with the female victims in *Type I*, in all of these cases the abuse occurred at or after separation and the shame associated with him divorcing her is explicitly cited as the motivation (e.g. P012, P022). So we could say that *Type III*, involving abuse from intimate partner plus in-laws (sometimes possibly just in-laws) exists with male victims too, with the distinction that for male victims the motive for abuse by their in-laws seems to be shame brought to the woman and her family by him divorcing her, whereas for female victims it is more about them rejecting her as inferior.

This perhaps fits with the notion of the gendered operation of honour, where very often it is the responsibility of the males in the family to avenge the slighted honour of females; it also supports the idea of collective family responsibility to enforce honour, and also the notion that separation or divorce or abandonment of females by male partners can be particularly shameful.

The cases involving both a male and female victim associate with *Type II*, namely abuse and threats from one or both of the victim's own families. These all involve their families' rejection of their chosen love match (e.g. P006, P082, P104), one because he drank alcohol which they disapproved of (P006), one because she was white and had a child whilst unmarried (P104), the other for unspecified reasons.

In conclusion, three broad profiles emerge of the cases from this first examination, around the number and relationships of perpetrators to the victim and the trigger/motivation for abuse. *Type I* involves current or ex intimate partner only abuse—this seems to be all or mainly men towards women and frequently on or after the point of separation; this profile does look very like non-honour related domestic violence from an intimate partner, and it is not clear

exactly why it should be seen as honour-based or distinct. *Type II* involves abuse from victim's family members, largely relating to their rejection of the family's desired match or the family's objection to their desired match—this is towards both female and male victims (with families more likely to reject female victims' choice of white male partners, and to reject male victims' choice of same-sex partners); these *Type II* cases show a few features which support the literature around triggers for forced marriage: first, marriage to provide a carer for a disabled relative (e.g. S02C69), second, marriage for family commitments or visa purposes (e.g. S02C78), and third, as a 'corrective' for LGBT or other disapproved-of relationships (e.g. S01HELP08). Finally, *Type III* involves abuse from both an intimate partner and in-laws—this is towards both female and male victims, in the former case often relating to in-laws' rejection of the woman as inferior or ill-matched, and in the latter a perceived need to revenge the 'shame' of the man divorcing or leaving the woman.

Victim sexual orientation

Victims in this sample are mainly (93%) in heterosexual relationships; 1% overall self-identify as LGBT (see table 4). In these cases, their sexual orientation is often a trigger or motivation for their abuse by family members. These proportions are similar to those identified in similar sampling methods for all domestic abuse (e.g. Insights all-domestic abuse dataset for 2014-15, in which 2% of victims identified as LGBT).

Table 6 gives a selection of cases from the police/S01/S02 dataset for 'heterosexual' and LGBT victims. In fact, all the LGBT victims in that dataset are in fact lesbians and gay men (no bisexual or transgender individuals. For Insights, the data are just LBGT, there is no disaggregation). Based on the case profiles emerging from the examination of victim gender above, cases were selected to show a variety of numbers of perpetrators, and their relationship to the victim (e.g. intimate partner, own family members, in-laws, combinations).

Table 6: Sample of cases summaries by victim sexual orientation (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
‘Heterosexual’ victims			
S01IDV06	33 y.o. British Pakistani woman	Her current husband, a 27 y.o. British Indian man, and threats from her brother around leaving the marriage	Severe domestic violence from husband. He has used objects to assault her, choked her, raped and closely controlled her. He shouts at her in front of the children. Coercive and controlling—including checking her phone, accusing her of wanting to be with other men. Her brother has also assaulted her, and threatened to beat her up if she leaves her husband. Her eldest daughter was forced by her husband to marry aged 18.
S02C03	38 y.o. British Pakistani woman	Her husband, and his brother and friend in Pakistan.	Husband (arranged marriage in Pakistan) physically and verbally abusive and controlling for 3 years. He held a gun to her head whilst pregnant and has threatened to kill her. She has separated from him and there are bail conditions on him not to contact her – she is receiving threats from him, his brother and friend in Pakistan to drop the case. Says she will reconcile if he changes.
P092	36 y.o. White British woman	32 y.o. Syrian husband (separated)	Threats from her abusive ex-husband to take their daughter. He has made threats of retaliatory violence to his wife and daughter if the daughter grows up ‘westernised’—e.g. drinks alcohol etc. He advocates Shar’ia law.
S02C75	17 y.o. British Pakistani girl	Her parents	Victim has requested refuge. Her parents found out she had a boyfriend and disapproved – she was assaulted by her father and her boyfriend was assaulted by her cousin. Her parents have said if she doesn’t marry she will be forced to leave home. In 2008 her older sister was threatened by her parents to go to Pakistan to marry, or be killed.
S02C64	18 y.o. British Pakistani girl	Her parents	Victim is concerned she will be forced to marry in Pakistan by her parents when they travel there for her sister’s wedding later in the year. She has a boyfriend whom her parents know about but disapprove of. Her mother has been doing unusual shopping ahead of the trip. Her parents isolate her and won’t allow her to apply to university. Her mother has told her that if she leaves home she will be disowned due to bringing dishonour.
P104	24 y.o. White British girl and 24 y.o. Asian British boy (partners)	His parents and extended family (British Asian)	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
S02C57	25 y.o. Asian woman (with ILR by marriage)	Husband and his family (her in-laws)	Coercive control and DV from her husband and in-laws: they keep her isolated and control her movements. Her in-laws have threatened to take the children if she leaves.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
P037	32 y.o. Pakistani woman	Pakistani mother-in-law	Assault by her mother-in-law following an altercation. Victim (and children) live with her husband and in-laws who isolate and control her. It was an arranged marriage and she is financially reliant on husband and in-laws.
S01OUT09	24 y.o. British Pakistani woman	Her Canadian Pakistani husband and his mother	Domestic abuse from her husband and his mother following their love marriage (met on Facebook). His mother forced her to wear Asian clothes and he didn't like this. Mother-in-law called her a dog and has kept her as a domestic servant. Victim does not want a divorce because it would bring shame to her family – her mother told her not to answer back her husband or in-laws.
LGBT victims			
P053	44 y.o. South Asian gay male	Natal family members	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
P060	27 y.o. lesbian female South Asian ethnicity	Parents, and extended natal family	Victim's female girlfriend disclosed to the victim's family that they are in a lesbian relationship. As a consequence, victim's family took her by force to the USA where she was beaten and forced to marry. Her girlfriend rescued her and brought her back to the UK.
P077	28 y.o. lesbian British female of South Asian ethnicity	Female partner	The victim's female partner has physically assaulted her. Both partners are in refuge due to being disowned by their families due to sexuality.
S01IDV01	20 y.o. female lesbian Qatari atheist	Natal family members including parents	Victim is fleeing her family in Qatar. They believe that her atheism and homosexuality are mental health issues – both are punishable by death in Qatar and she fears she may be killed if she returns. She has a female partner, who is currently in the US. Victim's mother has contacted the Qatari Embassy in London who are putting pressure on to find out where she is. Her mum is in the UK trying to find her. Her sisters have been forced to marry and also physically abused by parents.
S01HELP08	25 y.o. gay Sikh male Indian ethnicity	Victim's parents	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>

The 'heterosexual' cases in table 6 confirm the three groups observed in the examination by victim gender, with some differences. *Type I* is again characterised by domestic and sexual violence from an intimate partner—either a current partner (e.g. S01IDV06), or a partner which the woman has recently left (e.g. S02C03 and P092). Some of these cases additionally involve pressure or threats from the victim's own family (S01IDV0—her brother) or in-laws (S02C03—his brother and family) for her not to leave the relationship. *Type II* involves the

victim's own family as perpetrators, again with a trigger of the victim either rejecting the family's desired match (e.g. S02C64—a forced marriage is suspected to be in the planning) or the family rejecting the victim's love match (e.g. S02C75 (unspecified why they disapprove), or P104 (White boyfriend)). One element which comes through in this group is the strong association with forced marriage, with these cases often involving a planned or threatened one (e.g. S02C75, S02C64). *Type III* is again present and characterised by the intimate partner plus in-laws abusing the victim. With these heterosexual victims, there is a feature in this profile of the victim living with their extended in-law family who isolate them and control their movements (e.g. S02C57, P037), and being treated as a domestic servant (e.g. S01OUT09). This element of in-law abuse has support in the literature (e.g. Siddiqui, 2014), which identifies abuse including domestic servitude as a feature of domestic and honour-based abuse in South Asian family structures.

The cases in table 6 involving lesbians and gay men (as with the male victim cases, with which there is some overlap), almost all fit *Type II*—abuse from their own family members relating to the family's disapproval of the love match, in these cases because they are same-sex (e.g. P053, P060, S01IDV01, S01HELP08). In one case the abuse also relates to the victim's rejection of the family's religion as well as their sexual orientation (S01IDV01). A single case fits *Type I*, namely violence from an intimate partner only (P077)—this is abuse from a female same-sex partner. There are no *Type III* cases involving both a partner and in-laws, but this may be logical since with the same-sex relationships the victim is less likely to live with their partner's extended family since this is a traditional female role with the male's family.

Victim age

Victims are in their teens to 50s (see table 4). There was a notable divergence in age between cases involving a forced marriage (two-thirds of these victims were under 25yrs) and cases not involving forced marriage (only one-quarter of victims under 25yrs).

Most victims (85%) were between 18 and 44 yrs. The 25-34 age bracket was the most common (42%), followed by 35-44 (23%) and 18-24 (20%) (table 4). This age profile is older than that identified in some literature, especially around forced marriage, which shows more victims to be under 18. For example, Karma Nirvana reports that 49% of victims calling the

National HBV Helpline were aged 21 and under (Karma Nirvana, 2008), and the FMU that 22% of callers in 2015 were under 18yrs (FCO, 2016). This study found 6% of victims to be under 18yrs, and 26% under 25yrs.

Considering that prior literature linked young victims with forced marriage, splitting this study's data into forced marriage and non-forced marriage cases reveals something interesting. Some 63% of the forced marriage victims were under 25yrs, compared with 26% of the non-forced marriage victims (most of whom, 55%, were aged 25-34). So, this study confirms that the age profile of forced marriage victims contacting the police and victims' NGOs is younger, commonly under 25yrs, whereas the age profile of non-forced marriage honour-based abuse victims is older, commonly 25-34yrs. The non-forced marriage victims are a comparable age to wider domestic abuse victims (e.g. Insights all-domestic abuse dataset found 3% of victims under 18yrs, 8% aged 18-21yrs, and 37% aged 21-30yrs).

Table 7 profiles cases from all the victim age groups from the police, S01 and S02 datasets. Cases have again been selected to show a range of number and relationships of perpetrator to victim.

Table 7: Sample of case summaries by victim age group (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
Under 18s			
P105	17 y.o. Ethiopian girl	Ex-husband (Dutch national)	Victim was previously forced to marry. Her husband subjected her to severe physical and sexual abuse. She has fled from him and is worried he will track her down.
P119	17 y.o. British Asian girl	Husband/partner	Victim's husband has been domestically abusive. She alleges that she may have been married to him without her knowledge at a ceremony in his family home.
P063	14 y.o. Kurdish girl	Victim's father and his extended family in Kurdistan (father's role ambiguous as he has on occasion defended her)	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
P082	16 y.o. female and 19 y.o. male, ethnicity unknown	Female victim's father and male victim's family	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
P089	16 y.o. British Pakistani girl	Victim's brother, and extended family in Pakistan	Brother is trying to force her into marriage. He is threatening the victim, and there are concerns about HBV from him and her family in Pakistan. Her brother and mother say she is mentally unstable following a previous kidnapping and rape and that they are looking after her.
S01HELP02	17 y.o. British Indian girl	Victim's father/parents	Victim's parents are unhappy because she wants to marry a man (love match) she met in India in 2010—he is from a different 'caste' to her and her family wants her to marry someone of her father's choice. Her father has prevented her from leaving the house or going to work. He has threatened to kill her, her boyfriend, his mother and brothers if she marries him, and has made threats to kill people if she brings shame on the family, which she believes.
S02C41	16 year old White British girl	Victim's brothers, and her boyfriend	Victim has been physically abused and threatened by her own family, especially her brothers, for having a boyfriend they disapprove of (he is Muslim). They have also assaulted the boyfriend. She leaves home to Islamically marry her boyfriend. Subsequently suffers high-risk physical abuse and threats to kill from the boyfriend.
18-24 yrs old			
P042	21 y.o. White British national	23 y.o. Albanian ex-husband	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
S01OUT03	18 y.o. Afghan woman	Her parents and extended family members	Past history of parents attempting to marry her in Afghanistan aged 14—an FMPO was taken out to prevent this and was taken into foster care following honour-based violence from parents and family members. Now her Aunt wants her to come to Afghanistan for a holiday. Social worker concerned about her turning 18 and that parents may force her to marry now she is an adult. Victim has decided to go on the visit.
S01IDV03	20 y.o. Omani woman	Her father and uncles in Oman	Victim is living with her Aunt in the UK on a student visa. Aunt told her father that victim was in a relationship with a Muslim not from Oman. Her uncle came from Oman to intimidate her into ending relationship and assaulted the partner. Her father is wealthy and influential in Oman. She then moved in with fiancé and tried to get her father's blessing. 11 months ago, her father tricked her into visiting Oman by saying her mother had cancer. On arrival her father held her passport and used uncles to intimidate her and tried to force her to marry her cousin. She kept evidence on a mobile phone and smuggled it out to her boyfriend. She accompanied her father on a business trip to Africa, managed to fly to England and has claimed Asylum. Father has made threats to kill her and her partner's family.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S01HELP06	23 y.o. Pakistani British woman	Her husband, his mother and sisters	Victim fleeing domestic violence from husband and mother-in-law and two sisters-in-law. Had an arranged marriage in Pakistan in 2010, physical and emotional abuse throughout the marriage. Her husband has tried to divorce her Islamically and has threatened to kill her.
25-34 yrs old			
P021	31 y.o. Pakistani woman	Her husband, a 34 y.o. British Pakistani man	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
S02C10	29 y.o. British Asian woman	Her parents, brother and extended family	Victim is living with her parents and extended family (8 people). Her marriage to husband was forced but he seems to be supportive - the issue is domestic servitude, controlling and abusive behaviour from her own parents and extended family. She was assaulted by her brother. She is forced to do the housework when not feeling well, made to sit long hours, not allowed up to her room to rest. She states that there are cameras up in the house to monitor her movements.
S01HELP09	27 y.o. Egyptian woman	Her parents	Her parents are threatening daily to have her killed as a result of her leaving her fiancé after he raped her in 2012. Her parents believe she has shamed the family by leaving the relationship. They attacked her with a hammer in Egypt.
S01IDV05	29 y.o. British Indian woman	Her husband, a 31 y.o. Indian man and his family members	Severe domestic violence from her ex-husband. Victim lives with her parents and two brothers—who are all supportive of her. His family are also controlling and verbally abusive—there is a dispute over the dowry gold. Her in-laws were verbally abusive: her father-in-law has threatened her father and argued that they should hand over her son to the husband's family due to having brought dishonour on that family.
35 yrs or older			
P073	40 y.o. Pakistani woman	Her husband (separated), a 40 y.o. Pakistani man	Victim and her son have fled her abusive husband, who is trying to track them down, using others to help find them.
S02C20	51 y.o. Iranian woman	Her ex-husband, and her brother, both in Iran	This victim suffered domestic violence from her husband in Iran—physical, emotional and controlling behaviour. She divorced him and came to the UK as a student. She has since converted to Christianity but her brother and ex-husband (both in Iran) have found out and made threats to kill her due to the shame of her converting. She is currently appealing her refused asylum claim.
S02C35	42 y.o. British Asian woman	Her husband, and her brother and brother-in-law	Woman was forced by her father to marry her husband, who was violent to her and may have sexually assaulted their daughter. She is worried he will force their eldest daughter to marry. Her brother-in-law is controlling: he physically forced her daughter to attend the mosque. Her brother has also threatened to kill her if she goes to the police.

Cases in table 7 involving victims under 18 yrs old either involved a current or ex intimate partner only (*Type I*—e.g. P105, P119), or they involved the victim’s own family (*Type II*). Most of the latter cases related to the family’s disapproval of the victim’s choice of partner (e.g. P082—not specified why, S01HELP02—they say partner is from the wrong caste, and S02C41—her partner is Muslim). One case involved abuse from the victim’s boyfriend and her own family, but separately—i.e. the family disapproved of her choice of partner and he was subsequently also abusive (S02C41). Overall in the dataset, 6 out of 10 cases in this age bracket (60%) did not involve a current or ex intimate partner.

Cases in table 7 involving victims aged 18-24 yrs old fell into all three case types. One was *Type I*, involving violence from her ex-husband—again, this was following separation (P042); two were *Type II* with abuse from the victim’s own family, both with an attempted forced marriage—one to ‘correct’ a love match (S01IDV03) and one where the victim rejected the arranged marriage (S01OUT03); and one was *Type III*, involving abuse from the intimate partner and the in-laws (S01HELP06). Overall in the dataset, 35 out of 51 cases in this age bracket (69%) did not involve a current or ex-intimate partner.

Cases in table 7 involving victims aged 25-34 yrs old varied more in terms of their profile. Overall most cases involved violence and abuse from an intimate partner (*Type I*—P021, S01HELP09, S01IDV05). In only one of these cases was the abuse only from a partner (P021)—however, here there was also pressure from the victim’s family to reconcile. The other cases as well as the partner involved abuse from the victim’s in-laws (S01IDV05) or own family (S01HELP09)—similar to *Type III* identified previously. One case involved only domestic servitude and abuse from the victim’s own family (S02C10). This shows overall a more mixed picture in terms of the perpetrator relationships, but with more involving a current or ex-partner than for some of the younger victims. Where the victim’s own family was involved, the abuse seemed to relate to the victim leaving their relationship—this was different in nature to the profiles observed previously, especially in relation to the younger victims. There was an aspect of domestic servitude in these cases, which has been observed previously—however, here it was from the victim’s own family rather than from their in-laws. It should be noted that (whilst not in the selection in table 7) there are also cases in the dataset with 25-34 yr old victims where the perpetrators are the victim’s own family and there is forced

marriage. However, overall in the dataset, only 16 out of 69 cases (23%) in this age bracket do not involve a current or ex intimate partner.

Cases in table 7 involving victims aged 35 yrs or older distinctly more often involved violence and abuse from an intimate partner, with or without the involvement of others. In this selection, there was one *Type I* case (P073); whereas the other two cases were similar to *Type III* in that they involved an intimate partner and other family members—but in both these cases the family was the victim’s own family (brother) rather than their in-laws (S02C20 and S02C35). These cases also seemed to involve more non-British victims. Whilst in the wider dataset there were cases which involved just the victim’s family members, overall only 5 out of 23 cases (22%) did not involve a current or ex-intimate partner.

From the cases profiled in table 7, some more general comments can be made comparing victims under 25 yrs old and those over 25 yrs old. The under 25s more commonly involved abuse from the victim’s own family members and more often forced marriage—these often seemed to relate to the family disapproving of the victim’s choice of partner. Overall in these under 25s, very few (only 32%) involved a (current or ex) intimate partner. By contrast, the over 25s were more likely to involve a current or ex intimate partner—only 23% did not. Victims over 25 seemed more likely to suffer abuse from their own family members as well as from a partner—this is a new pattern and contrasts with the *Type III* pattern of abuse from an intimate partner plus in-laws.

Victim ethnicity

Table 4 shows that more than 13 different individual ethnicities were represented in the victim data. In this study, victims were mainly of South Asian ethnicity (64%) and, within that, most often of Pakistani or Indian heritage. Many of this group were British/EEA nationals. A surprisingly high 20% of Insights cases involved a White British victim. 8% were Black African or Caribbean, and 2% Middle Eastern/Arab.

Victim (and perpetrator) ethnicities in all the datasets are likely, perhaps more than any other variable, to reflect the local population demographics. So the proportions of cases associated with different countries of origin cannot in themselves be taken as directly reflective of

honour-based abuse characteristics in the country overall. The police site had probably the smallest relevant BME local population but was more mixed in terms of the breakdown of that BME population, with a smaller South Asian populations compared to the other two sites. S01 had a large South Asian, in particular Indian origin, local population, and S02 a large South Asian, in particular Pakistani origin, local population. Both these regions of the country fall in the top five for Asian ethnicity populations (see chapter 3). So, the strong representation of South Asian ethnicity victims (principally Pakistani, but also Indian and Bangladeshi) in this sample is at least partly explained by local population demographics.

Since South Asian communities have been identified in previous studies, and in media coverage, as strongly linked with honour-based abuse and forced marriage, it is also likely that their representation in this sample reflects the self-fulfilling nature of professionals being more likely to identify amongst these communities with honour.

Unexpectedly, a sizeable number of 'White British' victims were identified (see table 4). Although Hester *et al* (2008) found that forced marriage occurred within some Irish Traveller and Eastern European communities (both White), these were still in small proportions. Irish Traveller ethnicity is recorded separately in the Insights dataset, so this group could not explain the White British victims. In this context, one in five victims being White British/Irish warranted further investigation, and this group was explored in a sub-group analysis (see below). One possibility is whether victims from other communities (e.g. Turkish or other Middle Eastern) may be being mis-labelled as White; if so, this might in part account for the over-representation of 'White British' victims in the Insights dataset.

White British vs BME victims

20% of victims (almost all from the Insights data) were identified as White British or European. Of these, 85% were White British/Irish (rather than Irish Gypsy/Traveller, Other White or Don't Know). These cases were examined against other victim ethnicities for key variables.

Table 8 shows that, whilst all ethnicities had most cases in the Insights 'HBV Only' category, the White British/Irish group had a higher relative proportion in the 'FM only' (20%) and a lower proportion in the 'Both' category (9%) compared to other ethnicities. This could suggest

that, where there is a risk of forced marriage with a White British victim, it is being classed as 'FM Only'. Whereas where there is forced marriage in other ethnic groups it is perhaps more likely to be classed as 'Both FM and HBV', perhaps reflecting assumptions that in these communities there is usually an honour context to forced marriage.

Table 8: Key victim ethnicities by form of honour-based abuse (Insights dataset)

	Both FM and HBV	FM Only	HBV Only
Asian British	31.37%	7.84%	60.78%
Indian	21.14%	6.50%	72.36%
Pakistani	18.10%	1.90%	80.00%
White British/Irish	8.58%	19.74%	71.67%
Overall dataset breakdown	19.76%	8.64%	71.60%

Across the cases with BME ethnicity victims the occurrence of multiple perpetrators is common, in line with the literature on honour-based abuse (e.g. Sen, 2005). By contrast, the cases with White British/Irish victims had observably lower proportions of multiple perpetrators: only 23%, compared to around two-thirds with key BME victim ethnicity groups. See table 9.

Table 9: Key victim ethnicities by form of honour-based abuse and number of perpetrators (Insights dataset)

	Both	FM Only	HBV Only	Overall
Asian British	80	20	155	255
Single perpetrator	15%	50%	43%	35%
Multiple perpetrators	84%	50%	55%	64%
Indian	26	8	89	123
Single perpetrator	12%	25%	40%	33%
Multiple perpetrators	85%	75%	60%	66%
Pakistani	57	6	252	315
Single perpetrator	18%	33%	43%	38%
Multiple perpetrators	82%	66%	56%	61%
White British/Irish	21	46	174	241
Single perpetrator	35%	74%	80%	75%
Multiple perpetrators	55%	24%	19%	23%
TOTAL	264	91	945	1300

In almost all of the cases (90%) with a White British/Irish victim, the main perpetrator was a current or ex-intimate partner (see table 10). The gender breakdown was similar across all the ethnicity groups.

Table 10: White British/Irish victims by form of honour-based abuse and relationship with perpetrator (Insights dataset)

	Both (n)	Both (%)	FM Only (n)	FM Only (%)	HBV Only (n)	HBV Only (%)	Grand Total (n)	Grand Total (%)
White British/Irish total	19	8%	46	20%	164	72%	229	100%
Current or ex- intimate partner	17	90%	40	87%	148	90%	205	90%
Family member (adult)	1	5%	5	11%	13	8%	19	8%
Family member (minor)	-	-	1	2%	1	<1%	2	<1%
Other	1	5%	-	-	2	1%	3	1%

So, there was a sizeable group of cases with White victims in the Insights dataset, of whom the majority (70%) were at risk of HBV Only, and a sizeable minority (in comparison to other ethnicities) of 20% at risk of FM but not HBV. Three-quarters of them were at risk from only a single perpetrator - in almost 90% of these cases the perpetrator was a current or former partner. In the quarter of cases with multiple perpetrators, over three-quarters still identified the primary perpetrator as a current or former partner. What might account for the existence of this group?

Cases with White victims in the police, S01 and S02 case files were examined descriptively to see if they could shed any light. There were 15 such cases, profiled in table 11. The 'honour/forced marriage element' records what is listed in the case file as evidence of honour-based abuse or forced marriage (in other words, not a personal judgment of whether it equates to honour).

Table 11: Case summaries of all cases involving White British victims (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim	Perpetrator(s)	Honour/forced marriage element?
P014	White British woman	Libyan ex-husband & his family	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
P042	White British woman	Albanian ex-husband	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
P051	White British woman	Foreign national boyfriend (unclear where, but he's on visa)	Partner abusive – says he has “lost face” due to her kissing another man
P057	White British woman	Boyfriend, ethnicity unknown	Boyfriend verbally abusive to woman and child; no clear honour element
P062	Hungarian woman	Turkish boyfriend	His family are “controlling over the children”: no clear honour element
P083	White British woman	South Asian boyfriend's mother	His mother abusive and threatening to self-harm over shame of victim having child from previous relationship: no clear honour element
P092	White British woman	Syrian ex-husband	<i>See table 6 for case summary</i>
P095	White British woman	Bangladeshi boyfriend	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
P104	White British woman	Pakistani husband and his family	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>
P113	White British woman	Husband – ethnicity unknown	Severe domestic abuse from husband, cultural element including making her wear a hijab
P118	Irish Traveller/Gypsy woman	Irish Traveller/Gypsy son and husband	Severe domestic abuse from her son and husband: no clear honour element.
S01HELP05	White British woman	White British husband	One-off physical assault on the victim. No clear honour element.
S01WB01	White British woman	Lebanese boyfriend and his father	Severe domestic abuse from boyfriend; suspected that his father performed religious wedding ceremony at his house on the couple
S01WB02	White British woman	White British boyfriend	Severe domestic abuse from his boyfriend, threats from his mother and sister. No clear honour element.

Case ID	Victim	Perpetrator(s)	Honour/forced marriage element?
S02C41	White British woman	Her (White British) family; her boyfriend – ethnicity unknown but Muslim	<i>See table 7 for case summary</i>

Table 11 shows that 13 cases involved White British/Irish victims. All were female. One involved a White Hungarian national (P062), and one a (white) Irish Traveller/Gypsy family (P118). Of the primary perpetrator ethnicities, eleven (73%) were BME; three (20%) were White British/Irish and one was unknown. This suggests that none of the victim ethnicities were mis-labelled (to be expected since I coded the ethnicities myself from the case files). This also finds no evidence for the mis-labelling of ethnicities such as Arab/Turkish/Kurdish/other Middle Eastern as White British/Irish; but, again, that would be expected because I did the ethnicity coding of these cases. So, we cannot tell from these cases whether explanations around mis-labelling ethnicity might account for the high proportion of White British/Irish in the Insights dataset.

Table 11 shows that all 15 cases involved a current or ex intimate partner; six (40%) also involved the victim's in-laws alongside their partner (P014, P062, P083, P104, S01WB01, S01WB02). In nine cases (60%) there was some evidence of the role of honour being used as a threat or tool of control, or as justification for violence. Of these, the 'honour' element in three were tenuous—two related to the reported disapproval of the victim's partner's mother around the victim having a child from a previous relationship (P083, P104); one to the victim's partner's family being controlling of the victim's children (P062). In three cases there was some evidence of forced marriage (in P042 and S02C41 a marriage had taken place which it was suggested the victim had been coerced into; in S01WB01 a religious ceremony had occurred without the victim's consent which may have been a religious marriage). In four cases there was no evidence of either honour-based abuse or forced marriage (P057, P118, S01HELP05, and S01WB02). This lends some support to the possibility that some of the White British/Irish ethnicity cases may be mis-labelled as honour related—however these do only account for a quarter of cases.

This examination of victim ethnicity, comparing White British victims with BME ethnicity victims, suggests that most of the White cases fell into the *Type I* group: namely, violence and abuse from a current or ex intimate partner only. A smaller number fit with *Type III*, namely abuse from a current or ex intimate partner, plus in-laws. A single case (S02C41) involved abuse from a partner plus pressure from the victim's own family. There do not appear to be *Type II* cases—abuse from own family members only—in this group. In the three cases involving forced marriage, the marriage was not forced by the victim's own family, but by her partner (P042), his family (S01WB01) or pressure from her own family (S02C41).

From the analysis of victim gender earlier, it was seen that one trigger for abuse of BME females by their own family members was their relationship with a White male. No cases with male only victims involved a White British girlfriend, but one case involved both a Pakistani man and his White British girlfriend being harassed by his family who disapproved of the relationship (P104). A number of White British women were being abused by their BME partner, and/or his relatives. This examination of the White victims shows that they were all female and that three-quarters (11/15) involved a non-White British perpetrator. These included a range of perpetrator ethnicities—at least eight different ones were recorded (Libyan, Albanian, Turkish, South Asian, Syrian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Lebanese). All these cases involved abuse from an (ex) intimate partner; six also involved in-laws (five of these were themselves BME, one was White British/Irish).

Victim nationality and immigration status

Table 4 shows that there was a wide spread of victim nationalities, with over 20 different countries represented (including Afghan, Albanian, Bangladeshi, British, Canadian, Dutch, Egyptian, Gambian, Hungarian, Indian, Iranian, Kurdish, Libyan, Moroccan, Omani, Pakistani, Qatari, Saudi, Ethiopian, Somali, Syrian, Turkish, UAE, Ugandan, Yemeni, and Zimbabwean). Where known, the most common was British/EEA National (39%—two-thirds of whom were of South Asian ethnicity), followed by Pakistani (22%). One-fifth (20%) of victims were non-British and had No Recourse to Public Funds. These victims would be particularly vulnerable, reliant on others (quite possibly including their abuser) to stay in the country, which could trap them in the abusive relationship. They may also not be able to access some publicly funded support services, especially refuges, which rely on victims being able to access housing

benefit to fund their bed space. Table 12 profiles a sample of cases involving Non-British national and British national victims.

Table 12: Sample of case summaries by victim nationality (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
Non-British national victims			
S01IDV07	30 y.o. Indian woman (claiming asylum)	Husband (separated), mother in law, sister in law	Violence from husband (separated)—verbal, coercive and sexual (rape). Some physical abuse. Victim says that her mother in law ordered the abuse, carried out by the husband under her direction. Sister in law prevented victim from leaving by grabbing her arms. Husband found out that she wanted a divorce and cut her arms. He made threats to kill her if she disclosed the mother in law assault to police. His family has threatened her and been verbally abusive.
S01IDV02	37 y.o. Black Gambian woman (claiming asylum)	Her husband, her own family	Violent abuse from her husband, history of verbal arguments, physical assault, he is now harassing and stalking, financially controlling her and controlling her young son's documents. There have been various police call-outs, and during one he was removed from the home for 24 hours. Her family have put her under pressure to resume the relationship, and his family members have previously told police she is behaving unreasonably. She also says if returned home she faces FGM from her father—and her family previously tried to force her to marry. She is an immigration over-stayer but plans to claim asylum.
S01IDV08	25 y.o. Bangladeshi woman	Her husband (Sikh) and in-laws	Severe physical violence from her husband—she has asked for divorce and he's made threats to kill if she leaves. Fearful of violence from husband and mother in law. She is still with the husband though would like to leave. Husband has also hit his nephews and nieces in the same household. Apparently the abuse has been orchestrated by her mother in law. There have been several allegations of historic rape by husband (he was prosecuted for these—trial pending).

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S01OUT04	30 y.o. Indian female on a student visa	Her husband and in-laws	Husband makes threats and is violent, especially when drunk. Threatened to smash her head against the wall. Marriage has always abusive but worse since coming to the UK. Financial, sexual, physical and controlling behaviours. Her in-laws blame her for not having children and say she's a waste of space. Husband has in the past reported her 'behaviour' at college to her own brother overseas who has rung to tell her off. She told her in-laws about his flirting with other women but they said she has to keep him in line.
British national victims			
S01IDV04	24 y.o. British Asian woman	Her brother, parents	Her brother and mother had tried to force her to marry 4 years ago. She went into refuge but later reconciled and returned home. Renewed abuse and pressure to marry someone from Pakistan occurred. Physical abuse from brother, coercive controlling behaviour/policing from mother and brother. She has been locked in the house for periods of time, not allowed out on her own and not fed for periods of time. Physical assaults happening every other day. Mother's abuse is primarily mental not physical: she threatened to kill herself if victim ever left family home. Physical abuse from brother—some of it resulted in hospital attendance.
S02C09	19 y.o. British Asian woman	Her parents	Victim has fled home after experiencing violence, verbal, isolation, financial, mental abuse and risk of forced marriage from her parents. Very controlled at home –no freedom to go out or meet friends or socialise.
S02C32	British Asian woman (no age given)	Her parents and uncle, her husband (who she was forced to marry) and his relatives	Victim has been forced to marry her cousin in Pakistan by her parents and her uncle, who threatened to burn her and her children's passports. The husband threatened and pushed her on wedding night and threatened to report to his father if she complained. He has threatened her with a gun. His sister has verbally abused her. Husband also tried to force sex on her. He has left a voicemail threatening to call the police where she is now living and have her arrested. She is also now the victim of abuse from his relatives in the UK. Her uncle has threatened to kill her.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S02C61	35 y.o. British Asian woman	Her brothers and father	At risk of abuse from her brothers and father. She was forced to marry aged 15 by her father, divorced aged 17 and left home aged 19. She lived with a boyfriend for 9 years before separating from him. Brothers are threatening violence and threats to kill due to dishonour she has brought by leaving marriage/home. Mother and sister supportive and warning her.

Table 12 shows that cases involving British national victims seem to be characterised by abuse from their own family members—often parents, sometimes also other male relatives (e.g. brothers, uncles). This matches the victim-perpetrator relationships found in *Type II*. All of the cases profiled here involved a threat or attempt of forced marriage, and there was often an international link, with the marriage planned to relatives or contacts overseas (e.g. S01IDV04, S02C32). In these cases Pakistan featured prominently, and both the connection of British victims with forced marriage cases and the link with Pakistan are supported by Forced Marriage Unit data (FCO, 2016: the unit only supports British nationals, and in 2015 Pakistan was the main ‘link country’).

Table 12 shows that cases involving Non-British national victims, by contrast, seemed to fit *Type III*—they all involved physical and often sexual violence from the victim’s husband, plus control or physical or verbal abuse from their in-laws. The mother-in-law was specifically mentioned in three cases (S01IDV07, S01IDV08 and S01OUT04) as orchestrating or directing the abuse. Divorce or separation seemed to be a trigger point for abuse (e.g. S01IDV07, S01IDV08). In these cases, the linked countries were India, Bangladesh and Gambia—in the 46 cases involving a non-British national, most victims were Pakistani (14 cases) followed by Indian (7), Bangladeshi (4), Somali (4), Turkish (2), Iranian (2), with single cases of all other nationalities. Both cases with British and non-British national victims commonly featured multiple perpetrators. These *Type III* cases seemed likely also to have an international link—with wives often coming from overseas to live with British husbands and their relatives. In these cases, in addition to abuse or threats to the victim from their (UK based) in-laws, there was sometimes also pressure on them from their own family overseas. This profile exists already in the literature—for example, Siddiqui (2014) identified that BME victims of domestic

abuse (often those with NRPF) are often subjected to abuse from both their husbands and in-laws in the UK.

Victim religion

Two things are worth noting here. One, honour-based abuse is not limited to Muslim communities—in fact, in S01 where most religion data were available, 45% of the cases were non-Muslim and 48% Muslim (see table 4). Two, religion does come through in one case as a trigger for honour-based abuse: here (S01IDV01—see table 6), the victim’s decision to renounce her family and country’s religion and become an atheist was cited as a major motive for the abuse. As with sexual orientation, because religion can be a trigger for abuse, individuals’ religious beliefs may be under-reported. However, the presence of multiple religions at least shows that it is not solely a ‘Muslim problem’. Given that almost three-quarters of cases (70%) were missing data on victim religion, this variable was not analysed further and is not further commented on in the Discussion (chapter 9).

Victim-perpetrator relationship

Who are the perpetrators?

Table 4 shows that three distinct groups of perpetrators were identified, on the basis of their relationship to the victim: (current or ex) intimate partners, natal family members, and in-laws. Added together, 69% of cases (n=1019) involved a current or ex intimate partner, and only 29% (n=426) did not. Of the overall cases involving an intimate partner perpetrator, 53% acted alone, 46% with others. The proportion involving an intimate partner was increased by the (less rich) Insights dataset. Combining the police, S01 and S02 datasets only, 55% involved an intimate partner, with 26% acting alone and 74% with someone else (table 4). Perpetrators in cases which did not involve a current or ex intimate partner were most frequently the victim’s natal family member perpetrators (37%); or—in fewer cases—their in-laws. The involvement of a current or ex partner was notably lower than in other cases of domestic abuse (it is 88% in the Insights general domestic abuse dataset 2014-15: SafeLives, 2015), but higher than we might expect from the literature which associates honour-based abuse overall—and forced marriage in particular—with primarily natal family member perpetrators.

The relationship of perpetrator to victim for honour-based abuse therefore is both similar and different to that for domestic abuse/intimate partner violence.

These three groups of perpetrator relationships are consistent with the case profiles identified and tested throughout this chapter—namely, *Type I* involved a current or ex-intimate partner acting alone, *Type II* principally the victim’s own family members and *Type III* a current or ex-intimate partner plus others (usually the victim’s in-laws).

WHO ARE THE PERPETRATORS?

Table 13: Key characteristics of perpetrators of honour-based abuse (Police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)

Perpetrator variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Perpetrator age									<i>n=86</i>	
Under 18yrs	2	2%							2	2%
18-24 yrs	6	6%							6	6%
25-34 yrs	28	29%							28	29%
35-44 yrs	21	22%							21	22%
45yrs+	21	22%							21	22%
DK	18	19%							18	19%
Perpetrator gender									<i>n=1474</i>	
Primary perpetrator male	57	66%	26	90%	44	94%	577	44%	704	48%
Primary perpetrator female	17	20%	1	3%	3	6%	39	3%	60	4%
<i>Includes female perpetrator(s)</i>	37	43%	19	66%	25	53%			81	50%*
										* <i>n=162</i>
DK primary perpetrator	12	14%	2	7%	0	0%	696	53%	710	48%
Perpetrator ethnicity									<i>n=115</i>	
Black African/Caribbean	6	7%	2	7%					8	7%
Middle Eastern/Arab	8	9%	4	14%					12	10%

Perpetrator variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
South Asian	45	52%	17	58%					62	54%
White	3	4%	0	0%					3	3%
British/European										
Other/DK	24	28%	6	21%					30	26%
Perpetrator nationality									<i>n=86</i>	
British/EEA National	11	13%							11	13%
Pakistani	8	9%							8	9%
Other	18	21%							18	21%
DK	49	57%							49	57%
Perpetrator religion									<i>n=29</i>	
Atheist			0	0%					0	0%
Christian			1	3%					1	3%
Hindu			3	10%					3	10%
Muslim			10	35%					10	35%
Sikh			4	14%					4	14%
DK			11	38%					11	38%
Multiple perpetrators									<i>n=1474</i>	
Single	22	26%	5	17%	5	11%	588	45%	620	42%
Multiple	64	74%	24	83%	42	89%	703	54%	833	57%
DK	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	21	2%	21	1%
Who are female perpetrator(s):	<i>n=39</i>		<i>n=19</i>		<i>n=25</i>				<i>n=83</i>	
Current/ex wife or gf	7	18%	0	0%	0	0%			7	8%
Mother-in-law	6	15%	6	32%	3	12%			15	19%
Sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law	6	15%	1	5%	0	0%			7	8%
Mother-in-law and sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law	2	5%	2	11%	1	4%			5	6%
Own mother	15	38%	9	47%	17	68%			41	49%
Own sister(s) or aunt(s)	2	5%	1	5%	2	8%			5	6%

Perpetrator variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
Mother and sister(s) or aunt(s)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%			0	0%
Mother-in-law and mother	1	3%	0	0%	2	8%			3	4%

Data quality

Except for gender, demographic variables on perpetrators for this study had high proportions of missing data across the datasets, and therefore were excluded from analysis. Victim agency case files (and Insights data) were naturally focused on victims, and tended to gather their information from the victim; accordingly, there was less full information on the perpetrators. There were better data on the number and relationship(s) of the perpetrators to victim, and so these were considered in more depth.

Summary–Perpetrator characteristics

This section summarises the key perpetrator characteristics found in the analysis in this chapter and presented in table 13; the following sections set out those characteristics in more detail. Within the 52% of cases where gender was known, 92% of primary perpetrators were male; 8% were female. However, half the cases (50%) across the police/S01/S02 datasets involved at least one secondary female perpetrator (table 13). The data suggest some nuances to the roles of women. Whilst females are often not the primary perpetrators, they are involved in some way as perpetrators in around half of cases. This study looked at who the female perpetrators were, and found them to involve a range of natal and in-law relations, but most commonly a mother or mother-in-law.

Table 13 shows that over half of all cases (57%)—and in the police, S01 and S02 datasets over three-quarters of cases—involved multiple perpetrators. This is a feature of difference from ‘mainstream’ domestic intimate partner domestic abuse, which commonly involves a single

perpetrator. Some 69% of cases involved a current or former intimate partner—53% of these were acting alone and 46% with others.

Detail—Perpetrator characteristics

Perpetrator gender

As with domestic abuse, and in common with the literature, most cases in the overall dataset had a male primary perpetrator. Table 13 shows that, overall, 48% had a male primary perpetrator, and only 4% a female primary perpetrator. In the remaining cases the gender of the primary perpetrator was unknown (these were mostly accounted for by Insights cases—in the police, S01 and S02 datasets, the perpetrator gender was mostly known). This means that, where the gender of the primary perpetrator was known, 92% were male, and 8% female. Table 14 gives a selection of case summaries with primary male and primary female perpetrators.

Table 14: Sample of case summaries by perpetrator gender (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
Primary male perpetrator			
P094	28 y.o. Indian female	34 y.o. Indian husband; plus pressure from her family members in India to stay in the marriage	Serious DV from her husband whom she has now left. Her family previously told her to obey him. He is making threats to kill her via both her and his family in India.
P085	20 y.o. Indian female	Her parents, both in their 50s and Indian nationals; plus her two brothers	Threat of forced marriage from victim's parents. She has run away with her boyfriend and is trying to reconcile with her parents. Professionals have concerns about HBV and a possible kidnap overseas to marry her off—relating to the shame of her rejecting their preferred marriage.
S01IDV09	19 y.o. British Asian female	Her father (in UK), and half-brother in Pakistan	Victim has heard from a cousin that her parents are preparing to take her to Pakistan for a forced marriage. Her father is physically and verbally abusive and controlling, and has tried to strangle her in the past. He is also domestically violent to her mother. She has also in the past been sexually abused by a half-brother in Pakistan.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S01IDV07	30 y.o. female of South Asian heritage (non British national)	Her husband (separated), mother in law and sister in law (all Indian nationals)	<i>See table 12 for case summary</i>
Primary female perpetrator			
P116	43 y.o. male and his 34 y.o. new wife	His 26 y.o. ex-wife, of South Asian heritage (nationality unknown)	Harassment of male, his new wife and her family by his ex-wife
P015	31 y.o. Black Afro-Caribbean female (nationality unknown)	Victim's 44 y.o. mother, Black Afro-Caribbean female (nationality unknown)	Victim's mother has forced her to marry more than once in the past, forced her into prostitution and been responsible for trafficking her.
P087	31 y.o. Pakistani female	Victim's mother-in-law and sisters-in-law – all of Pakistani heritage but British residents.	Victim has been assaulted on several occasions by her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, for not having a son.
S01OUT01	32 y.o Asian male	His 32 y.o. British Asian ex-wife, her mother and brothers	<i>See table 5 for case summary</i>

The cases outlined in table 14 show that both those cases with a primary male and those with a primary female perpetrator broadly fit with the case *Types I, II and III* outlined in relation to victim characteristics. Primary male perpetrators tended to be either the victim's husband (e.g. P094, S01IDV07; occasionally also their in-laws, or with the victim's family putting pressure on the victim to reconcile), or the victim's father (e.g. P085, S01IDV09), sometimes with other family members (e.g. mother, brother). The former (husband) fits with *Types I and III*; the latter (father) with *Type II*. Mostly, male primary perpetrators were acting against female victims.

By contrast, female perpetrators were acting against a mix of male and female victims (table 14). Cases with male victims tended to be ex-wives acting against their ex-husbands (e.g. P116, S01OUT01) or female perpetrators with female victims—often a mother or mother-in-law towards their daughter or daughter-in-law (e.g. P015, P087). It is worth noting that the

cases involving wives against ex-husbands seem to be either less severe (for instance involving lower-level harassment (e.g. P116) rather than the physical and sexual violence which characterised the male-on-female domestic abuse cases; or to be contested, e.g. there are counter-allegations of abuse (case S01OUT01)).

In the police, S01 and S02 datasets (but not in Insights, which only recorded the primary perpetrator), half the cases (50%) recorded involvement of at least one secondary female perpetrator (often alongside secondary male perpetrators) (table 13). Male primary perpetrators were most often the victim's current or ex intimate partner (69%), followed by the victim's father, brother(s) and uncle(s). The involvement of women in perpetrating honour-based abuse and forced marriage has been identified in previous literature (e.g. Sen, 2005; CPS 2015 data—16-20% of defendants in prosecutions of HBV and FM were women). However, women's involvement does represent a point of difference from other forms of intimate partner domestic abuse.

Who were the (primary or secondary) female perpetrators? Table 13 shows that over half (59%) involved the victim's natal family members: a combination of mothers, sisters and aunts—with the victim's own mother being the most common. Just over a third (37%) involved the victim's in-laws. Within this group, the most common was mother-in-law; the remaining cases were sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law, with or without the mother-in-law. 4% (3 cases) involved both the victim's own mother and their mother-in-law.

Number of perpetrators

Some 57% of these cases involved multiple perpetrators, with only 1% of cases unknown (table 13). This proportion was higher again in the police, S01 and S02 datasets (where more case details were known and the involvement of multiple perpetrators could be more easily seen), at between 75% and 89% in those datasets. Table 15 profiles some cases with single and multiple perpetrators.

Table 15: Sample of case summaries by number of perpetrators (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
Single perpetrator			
S02C28	Pakistani female (age unknown)	Her Asian British husband (age unknown)	Victim is on a spousal visa (no ILR) suffering DV from her husband including controlling behaviour, verbal abuse and rape.
P054	25 y.o. Bangladeshi female	43 y.o. Bangladeshi British husband	Victim has suffered six years of severe physical and mental abuse from husband. He is very controlling, and strangled her when she expressed a desire to return to Bangladesh.
P049	20 y.o. Somali British female	Her 42 y.o. Somali British brother	Victim has suffered three years of physical assault and verbal abuse from her brother. Now her is threatening to kill or harm her due to her relationship with an Asian boyfriend, of which he disapproves.
S02C37	24 y.o. British Asian female	Her father, of Pakistani heritage (British resident or with ILR)	Victim has been forced by her father to marry in Pakistan. Her father is very controlling and verbally abusive, and is now trying to force her to bring husband over from Pakistan or go there and make the marriage work. She does not want to be married. Father has made threats to send her to Pakistan, or to 'get rid of her' which she believes. She suspects that her father previously had her mother killed.
Multiple perpetrators			
P035	20 y.o. female of South Asian ethnicity (unclear nationality)	26 y.o. Afghan ex-boyfriend; pressure from her family members to marry	High risk DV case with her ex-partner, who has assaulted her. She is pregnant. Her family tried to pressure her to marry him, due to being pregnant—they are now trying to arrange another marriage for her due to the shame of the pregnancy.
S02C76	41 y.o. British Asian female	Her husband (separated), her own brother and wider family members	Victim had an arranged marriage to man who was abusive (controlling, verbal and physical abuse). They have been separated for six years and she now has a new male friend who her family disapprove of. Her own family are putting pressure on her to reconcile with the husband, in the form of verbal pressure/threats, and her brother turning up at her house to pressure her.

Case ID	Victim(s)	Perpetrator(s)	Case summary
S02C87	Pakistani female (age unknown)	Her brother and extended family members in Pakistan	Pakistani female is in the UK on a 6-month visa sponsored by her aunt. She got into a relationship with a male in UK and got pregnant—the relationship ended when he found out. Her brother and family members are threatening repercussions if she returns to Pakistan and have cut her off from the family. These relate to the shame of her relationship (and pregnancy by) male in the UK.
S02C52	24 y.o. British Asian female	Her father and extended family	The victim is in a love match with a foreign national man—her family disapprove and several members have threatened him and her. Her father has made threats to kill her partner, and assaulted her, removing her mobile phone too.
S02C13	32 y.o. Pakistani female	Her Asian British husband (separated), mother-in-law and sisters-in-law; pressure also from her own family members.	Victim is fleeing domestic abuse from her husband, to whom she was married for four years. He was physically and emotionally abusive, and raped her. He made threats to kill and has kidnapped her. She was also abused by his family members—his mother would blame her for the breakdown of the relationship and assaulted her. Her own family members have pressured her to reconcile on multiple occasions.
S01HELP04	26 y.o. Pakistani female (now has ILR)	Her Asian British husband (separated), mother-in-law and brother-in-law	Victim is fleeing her husband (arranged marriage in Pakistan in 2011), brother-in-law, mother-in-law and sisters-in-law, who all live together. They are controlling and tell her what to do, have made threats to kill her. She has been assaulted by both her husband and mother-in-law.

The cases in table 15 show that single-perpetrator cases tended to be a mixture of domestic violence from an intimate partner (e.g. S02C28, P054) or abuse from a member of the victim's own family—generally a father or brother (e.g. P049, S02C37). All of these examples involved a male perpetrator and female victim. Quite a few victims were non-British nationals, whereas the perpetrators tended to be British.

Table 15 shows that multiple perpetrator cases similarly involved mostly female victims, but contained more of a mix of British and foreign national victims. Perpetrators were more varied: either an intimate partner plus others—or (where no intimate partner was involved),

several of the victim's own family members. Where in-laws were involved, these tended to be females (e.g. S02C13, S01HELPO4), whereas where the victim's own family members were involved, they tended to be males (e.g. S02C76, S02C87). Cases involving intimate partners with multiple perpetrators matching *Type III* tended to involve British perpetrators in this country (e.g. S02C76, S02C87); by contrast cases involving intimate partners with a single perpetrator but with added pressure from others to reconcile or stay (*Type I*) tended to involve non-British perpetrators, often family or in-laws overseas (e.g. S02C87).

Chapter conclusion—people and relationships in the datasets

This chapter has shown that honour-based abuse, in common with other forms of domestic abuse, is heavily gendered. Mainly, victims are female and perpetrators are male. There are other similarities with other forms of intimate partner domestic abuse, for example separation being a common trigger for abuse.

So, what classifies a case as honour-based? The cases profiled in this chapter suggest that this occurs where certain characteristics relating to either the victim or perpetrator, or the intersection of both, look different to mainstream cases of intimate partner domestic abuse. These victims of honour-based abuse seemed all to be minorities in different ways: they were BME, male, LGBT, and/or had insecure immigration status or were foreign national spouses. The perpetrators can also be seen to have minority characteristics. They were themselves BME, and/or they involved female perpetrators (uncommon in intimate partner domestic violence cases), and/or there were multiple perpetrators (also uncommon in intimate partner violence cases). The intersection between identities of victim and perpetrator is also key—in particular, their relationships. Again, this shows that cases involving minorities were commonly identified as honour-based abuse—in particular, where there was a couple with one White and one BME partner; or one British and one foreign national partner.

In sum, the analysis in this chapter has thrown up three distinct profiles of honour-based abuse case. *Type I* involved intimate partner violence between two individuals (mainly male on female)—this looked very like 'mainstream' intimate partner domestic abuse, except that either the victim or the perpetrator or both 'look different' because they were in some way a minority. A subset of *Type I* involved the use of honour/shame either as a tool of control or

abuse by an intimate partner, or there was an explicit or implicit honour discourse being used by either the victim's natal family or in-laws to pressure them to stay in the relationship. *Type II* had different characteristics in that it did not involve intimate partner violence and was more likely to involve forced marriage and other notions of family shame. This *Type II* mainly involved abuse of a victim by their own family members, generally relating to their rejection of the family's preferred marriage, or the family's rejection of the victim's choice of partner, or occasionally their lifestyle choices (e.g. education, western dress). *Type III* was a mixture of both, but could be characterised as an extension of intimate partner domestic abuse involving (often) immigrant spouses, and or extended family abuse (often from in-laws). It often involved victims being abused by their intimate partner and also by other family members, generally in-laws; often these victims were immigrant spouses. This chapter has shown that these three *types* hold up across different characteristics associated with victims and perpetrators, with slightly different nuances.

The next chapter (chapter 7) will examine the nature of the abuse across the three case types, to see whether and how they differ from 'mainstream' intimate partner domestic violence cases, and whether 'honour' should be seen as a short-hand for 'difference' from mainstream, white British domestic violence (e.g. minority groups and/or different perpetrator numbers and relationships).

Chapter 7: FINDINGS (Descriptive analysis)–Nature of the abusive experience

Introduction

Chapter 6 addressed research question 1 by profiling the people and relationships involved in these cases. It identified three main profiles of honour-based abuse case, based on the intersections of victim and perpetrator relationships and numbers. This chapter outlines the nature of the abuse. It considers first what form(s) the abuse took and how that was similar or different from other domestic abuse; it then looks specifically at the relationship between forced marriage and honour-based abuse. Finally, it brings this exploration of the abusive experience back to the three types identified in chapter 6, highlighting how the nature of the abuse relates to each of the three.

WHAT ABUSE IS INVOLVED?

This section examines what forms the abusive behaviour takes. It considers the presence of six different forms of abuse, before profiling the proportion of cases which did and did not involve forced marriage.

Table 16: Key characteristics of the abuse (Police, S01, S02 datasets)

Abuse variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1,312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Forced marriage										
No/Don't Know	68	79%	16	55%	24	51%	955	73%	1,063	72%
Yes	18	21%	13	45%	23	49%	357	27%	411	28%
Of forced marriage:	<i>n=18</i>		<i>n=13</i>		<i>n=23</i>				<i>n=54</i>	
<i>Actual or attempted</i>	<i>10</i>	-	<i>5</i>	-	<i>11</i>	-			26	48%
<i>Threat or risk</i>	<i>8</i>	-	<i>8</i>	-	<i>12</i>	-			28	52%

Abuse variables	Police <i>n=86</i>		S01 <i>n=29</i>		S02 <i>n=47</i>		Insights <i>n=1,312</i>		TOTAL <i>n=1474</i>	
Overlap HBA and forced marriage										
Forced marriage without HBA	4	1%	2	7%	5	11%	91	7%	102	7%
<i>As % of all forced marriage cases</i>	-	22%	-	15%	-	22%	-	25%	-	25%
Forced marriage with HBA	14	16%	11	38%	18	38%	266	20%	309	21%
<i>As % of all forced marriage cases</i>	-	78%	-	85%	-	78%	-	75%	-	75%
Forms of abuse										
Physical abuse present	40	47%	23	79%	26	55%	822	63%	911	62%
Sexual abuse present	9	10%	11	38%	10	21%	368	28%	398	27%
Coercion/emotional control present	52	60%	28	97%	46	98%	1,131	86%	1,309	89%
Harassment/stalking present	44	51%	13	45%	2	4%	810	62%	869	59%
Threats to kill present	26	30%	17	59%	18	38%			61	38%*
										<i>n=162</i>
Multiple abuses										
1 form	27	31%	2	7%	11	23%	163	12%	203	14%
2 forms	27	31%	2	7%	13	28%	370	28%	412	28%
3 forms	14	16%	10	34%	7	15%	388	30%	419	28%
4 forms	9	10%	7	24%	13	28%	289	22%	318	22%
5 forms	4	5%	8	28%	3	6%	53	4%	68	5%
6 forms	2	2%	0	0%	0	0%	-	-	2	<1%
DK	3	3%	-	-	-	-	49	4%	52	4%
Risk										
Non-high risk (<10)							442	34%	442	34%
High risk (10+)							860	66%	860	66%
DK							10	<1%	10	<1%
MARAC threshold							590	45%	590	45%

Summary–Experiences of abuse

This section summarises the key abuse characteristics found in the analysis in this chapter; the following sections set out those characteristics in more detail.

Across the whole dataset, the kinds of abuse perpetrated in honour-based abuse cases were very similar to those seen in intimate partner domestic abuse cases. Table 16 shows that these cases involved high levels of coercive or emotionally controlling behaviour (present in 89% of cases) and physical abuse (present in 62%). Over a third of cases involved threats to kill (38% of cases, where known). Multiple forms of abuse in a single case were common: under one-fifth of cases (18%) had only one form of abuse, and many had three, four, five or even six different forms. Two-thirds (66%) were deemed high risk, similar to the overall rate for domestic abuse (62%, SafeLives, 2015). Despite these similar actuarial risk scores, honour-based abuse cases were less likely to reach the MARAC threshold than other domestic abuse cases (only 45% compared with 54%).

When the cases were broken down into the three types, some differences emerged (table 17). There was more physical and sexual abuse in *Types I* and *III* (commensurate with these cases featuring an intimate partner) and also more harassment and stalking in *Type I* (commensurate with separation from an intimate partner); whereas there was more forced marriage in *Type II* (which fits with these victims not being already married, and the perpetrator profile involving their own family members). There was also some evidence in the *Type II* cases of higher levels of emotional abuse/blackmail. Threats to kill seemed to be most common in *Type III* cases, and higher RIC risk scores seemed to be present in cases involving intimate partners (*Types I and III*).

Whilst multiple forms of abuse were common across all cases, table 17 shows that more abuse forms were present in cases involving an intimate partner, particularly those acting with others (*Type III*). However, *Type II* cases often involved multiple perpetrators, and this may indicate that the risks of abuse to the victim were harder to identify or manage, because they could come from a range of different family members rather than primarily from an intimate partner.

Previous literature has shown that forced marriage is associated with honour-based abuse but does not always overlap; however, previous studies have not quantified the overlap. This study adds new evidence to this debate, showing that whilst forced marriage occurred in just under one-third (28%) of all honour-based abuse cases, three-quarters (75%) of those forced marriage cases occurred in a clear context of honour-based abuse (see table 16). Forced marriage was more likely in *Type II* cases which involved the victim's family members as perpetrators. These forced marriage cases had lower risk scores and were less likely to reach the MARAC threshold than those involving honour-based abuse alone.

Detail—Experiences of abuse

Profile of abuse

Six different forms of abuse were considered: physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse/coercive control, harassment/stalking, threats to kill (police, S01 and S02 data only) and forced marriage (see table 16). In common with intimate partner domestic abuse, the most common form of abuse across all cases was coercive control/emotional abuse (89% of cases). Nearly two-thirds (62%) involved physical abuse; and over a quarter (27%) sexual abuse. Some 59% involved harassment/stalking, and 27% threats to kill. There were some differences in the nature of the abuse between cases involving different relationships between victim and perpetrator(s). Table 17 gives some case examples illustrating the profiles of abuse, set out by the three different types.

Table 17: Sample of case summaries by abuse profile (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Case summary	Abuse profile	Forced marriage?
Type I cases (intimate partner only)			
S01OUT04	DV against 30 yr old Indian woman from her husband (still together) + pressure to stay together from her family in India	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical abuse (smashed her head against wall) Financial abuse (she works (he doesn't) and is forced to support him financially) Sexual violence (he had sex with her without her consent) Controlling (always wants to know where she is and with whom – when she is at college, he accuses her of being with other men) Verbal abuse from in-laws (say she is a waste of space for not having a son) Pressure from her family and her in-laws to remain in the marriage Threats to kill (threatened her with a knife, attempted to strangle her. 	No
S01OUT11	DV against 35 yr old Black Zimbabwean woman from her husband (separated) + pressure from his family to reconcile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical abuse (he has a conviction for assaulting her) Sexual violence (forced her to have sex when they argued) Emotional/immigration abuse (threatened to deport her to Zimbabwe if she called police) Harassment/stalking (he has tried to track down where she now lives, harassed her by text) Threats to kill from him (and he has threatened to kill himself) Threats of violence/repercussions from his in-laws (they previously pressured her to withdraw a police statement) 	No

Case ID	Case summary	Abuse profile	Forced marriage?
P105	DV against 17 yr old Ethiopian woman from her husband (separated) – she was forced to marry him	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical (regularly beat her up) Sexual violence (her husband would force himself on her) Emotional abuse (he would tell her she was ugly and make her wear make-up) Coercive control (when living with her husband, he would prevent her from contacting anyone else, regularly changed her mobile number) Harassment/stalking (fears he is trying to track her down) 	Yes (when she was aged 13)
Type II cases (Family members)			
S01OUT07	Coercion, control, emotional abuse and threats of forced marriage against 17 yo British Asian girl from her aunt and uncle (her adoptive parents), and her cousin (adoptive brother)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Controlling behaviour (family members control her closely, not allowing mobile phone or internet access) Neglect (emotional) Verbal and emotional abuse Risk of forced marriage (threats to force her to marry have been made if she does badly in her school exams) Lower-level physical abuse (slaps from cousin and aunt) 	Yes (threat of)
S01IDV10	Threats against 19 yr old British Asian girl from her father and paternal uncle	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emotional abuse/blackmail/manipulation (father pressuring her to go to Bangladesh, saying that her grandmother is ill and dying) Forced marriage (threatened by her family, due to her relationship with Italian boy; trip is being planned) Physical violence from her father and uncle 	Yes (threat)
S01HELP09	Threats against 27 yr old Egyptian-Pakistani woman from her father and mother in Egypt	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical assault (parents previously hit her with a hammer) Threats to kill (being made daily by her parents as a result of leaving her fiancé after he raped her – seen as shameful to leave him) Forced marriage (parents attempted to force her to marry the fiancé after he raped her) Emotional abuse (mother is pressuring her to reconcile with the fiancé) 	Yes (attempted)

Case ID	Case summary	Abuse profile	Forced marriage?
Type III cases (Intimate partner plus family members)			
P034	DV against 23 yr old Bangladeshi woman from her husband (separated) and in-laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical violence (assaults from husband and in-laws – he punched her in face, pushed her off the bed) Sexual violence (husband raped her on multiple occasions) Threats to kill (husband threatened her with a kitchen knife) Controlling behaviour (from husband and in-laws) 	No (she says it was arranged)
P091	DV against 34 yr old Bangladeshi woman from her husband (separated) + his sons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical (kicked her in the stomach whilst pregnant, pushed her down the stairs) Financial abuse (she doesn't work and he didn't give her money – she struggled to feed and clothe children) Controlling behaviour (husband had possession of her passport and key documents, his adult sons listened in on her calls) Threats to kill (he has threatened to kill her and bury her in the garden – she is fearful of reprisals from his family in Bangladesh, who are in positions of power (Mayor of home town)) 	No (however, turns out he was already married so marriage may be void)
S01IDV05	DV against 29 yr old British Asian woman from husband (separated) and in-laws	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Physical (husband tried to strangle her, caused her head injuries) Sexual violence (from husband) Financial (she is dependent on him for money) Verbal abuse, coercive and jealous behaviour (husband and his family members too – they are making threats around repayment of the dowry gold and threats to take her 15 month old son) Threats to kill (husband has previously attempted to kill her) 	No

Table 17 suggests that cases which involved an intimate partner (whether *Type I* cases where they were the only perpetrator, or *Type III* cases where family members were also involved) were more likely than those involving the victim's family members (*Type II* cases) to have physical and sexual abuse. Those cases involving an intimate partner only (*Type I*) were more

likely to involve harassment and stalking—this might be because more of these cases were at or after the point of separation, which is where harassment/stalking typically occurs. By contrast, *Type II* cases in the police, S01 and S02 datasets seemed to have higher levels of emotional abuse/blackmail/coercive control.

Multiple forms of abuse

Less than a fifth of cases (18%) recorded just a single form of abuse; 77% of cases had multiple (see table 16; 5% of cases were unknown). This is a similar breakdown to that in all domestic abuse cases at 76% (SafeLives, 2015). The police, S01 and S02 datasets contain qualitative information about forms of abuse, and contain a higher maximum number of forms (because Insights doesn't record threats to kill, so the maximum in that dataset is 5 forms). In the police, S01 and S02 datasets, almost a fifth of cases had three forms (19%) and four forms (18%). 10% had five or all six forms.

The presence of more forms of abuse does not necessarily mean a case is higher severity or higher risk. However, multiple, or composite, abuses have been found to be indicative of more severe abuse in domestic abuse cases (Hegarty, 2007; Hester, Donovan and Fahmy, 2010). A reading of the case file narratives does suggest that the cases with multiple different forms of abuse tended to be high-risk, complex and often severe. Table 18 contains case summaries of all the cases in the Police, S01 and S02 datasets with the highest number of forms of abuse (six), and a sample of four of the 15 cases with five forms of abuse.

Table 18: Sample of case summaries by forms of abuse (Police, S01, S02 dataset)

Case ID	Total number of abuse forms	Which abuse forms	Case summary
P036	6	Physical; Sexual; Coercive control; Harassment/stalking; Threats to kill; Forced marriage (threat/risk)	Boyfriend and girlfriend, both Indian nationals (she is Roman Catholic). Case open to MARAC - prior high risk physical and sexual assaults; he has been blackmailing her, threatening to send naked pictures to her family in India. He is controlling, and highly physically abusive including threats to kill and strangulation. He demanded she marry him and forced her to call her family and priest to confirm marriage plans.

Case ID	Total number of abuse forms	Which abuse forms	Case summary
P042	6	Physical; Sexual; Coercive control; Harassment/stalking; Threats to kill; Forced marriage (actual)	<i>See table 5 for case summary.</i>
S01IDV02	5	Physical; Harassment & stalking; Coercive control; Threats to kill; Forced marriage (actual)	<i>See table 12 for case summary</i>
S01OUT09	5	Physical; Sexual; Coercive control; Harassment/stalking; Threats to kill	<i>See table 6 for case summary</i>
S02C13	5	Physical; Sexual; Coercive control; Harassment/stalking; Threats to kill	<i>See table 15 for case summary</i>
S02C19	5	Physical; Sexual; Coercive control; Threats to kill; Forced marriage (actual)	Severe domestic abuse against British-Asian woman from her husband and own mother. She was forced to marry him 16 years before. He is physically, psychologically, emotionally abusive, has extreme control of her behaviour, financial control—controls bank cards, doesn't like her wearing western clothing, pressured her for sex. Her mother has also "emotionally tortured" and controlled her, including locking her in the house for 2 weeks.

What is perhaps notable about all these multiple-abuse cases in table 18 is that they are all primarily intimate partner domestic abuse cases. Three involved a boyfriend or husband (separated) against their female partner—one of which also involved pressure from her family to reconcile. These all fit *Type I*. The other three involved an intimate partner plus in-laws—*Type III*.

Threats to kill

The presence of threats to kill was looked at individually, because threats to kill have been identified in the literature (e.g. NPCC, 2015) as a warning factor which should be taken

especially seriously in cases of honour-based abuse because they have been sometimes shown to presage murders (e.g. Banaz Mahmood case). Across the police, S01 and S02 datasets (Insights does not record threats to kill), over a third (38%) had a positively identifiable threat to kill the victim (see table 16). This was higher in S01, where it occurred in over half of cases (59%), compared to 30% in the police and 38% in S02 (table 16). Insights did not capture threats to kill, so no comparison with this dataset for all domestic abuse is possible.

These cases were looked at to see whether there was a discernible difference between threats to kill in cases with the different profiles—in particular, whether the involvement of the victim’s own family members (*Type II*) rather than an intimate partner (*Types I and III*) more often contained threats to kill (see table 16). Whilst not a representative sample, it looks as if cases which involved an intimate partner perpetrator involved threats to kill more commonly than those which did not.

Risk assessment

Table 16 shows that 66% of the cases in the Insights dataset scored ‘high risk’ (10 ‘ticks’ or over) on the DASH Risk Assessment Checklist (RIC) (an actuarial risk assessment tool). 45% met the local MARAC threshold. See Appendix C for further details of how risk is calculated. RIC scores were not available for the police, S01 and S02 data.

The cases in this dataset scored as slightly higher risk on the DASH RIC than other, non-honour based domestic abuse cases (66% high risk compared with 62% of all domestic abuse cases in the Insights 2013-14 dataset). However, fewer met the MARAC threshold—45% compared to 54% for all domestic abuse cases (table 16). A breakdown of risk scores (see table 19) into cases involving only honour-based abuse, and only forced marriage, is also interesting. Forced marriage only cases were less likely to score high risk (57% compared with 67% for honour-based abuse only) and less likely to reach MARAC thresholds (34% compared with 46% for honour-based abuse only, and 54% for all domestic abuse).

Table 19: Risk levels of honour-based abuse only and forced marriage only cases (Insights dataset)

	TOTAL	HBA Only	FM only	Insights domestic abuse dataset 13-14
Non-high risk (0-9)	34%	33%	43%	38%
High risk (10+)	66%	67%	57%	62%
MARAC threshold	45%	46%	34%	54%

Forced marriage and its overlap with honour-based abuse

There are two key questions relating to the inter-relation of forced marriage and honour-based abuse to address. First, considering that honour-based abuse and forced marriage are often treated together in policy and theoretical terms, proportionally how many cases involve one, the other, or both. Second, where there is a forced marriage, does it always occur in the context of honour and honour-based abuse, or can it be unrelated? This section addresses these questions.

Table 16 shows that forced marriage (actual or threatened) was present in 28% of all cases. This was higher in the S01 and S02 datasets (45% and 49% respectively), and lower in the police (21%) and Insights datasets (27%). See Appendix C for further information on how the presence of forced marriage was coded from the case files. In the police, S01 and S02 datasets it was possible to tell whether the forced marriage was an identified risk, or a marriage had already taken place: approximately half (48%) were actual or attempted, and half (52%) a threat or risk. In this dataset, in only 4 in 18 of the police cases (22%) involving a forced marriage was the marriage not clearly related to a wider pattern of honour-based abuse.⁶ For

⁶ Of these cases, one (P015) was a forced marriage of a Nigerian woman in the context of trafficking and forced prostitution by her mother, and three were forced marriages to men who were subsequently severely abusive. One (P042) involved the forced marriage in Albania of a White British woman to her Albanian male partner; one (P105) the prior forced marriage (aged 13, four years earlier) of an Ethiopian girl to a Dutch man (of unknown ethnicity), and one (P119) the possible forced marriage of an Asian British girl to her boyfriend in a ceremony at his house (it is suspected but unclear that there was a marriage ceremony).

S01 this number was 2 cases (15%),⁷ and for S01 it was five cases (22%).⁸ In the Insights dataset, 27% involved both honour-based abuse and forced marriage, and 7% forced marriage only (Table 16). Taken together across all the datasets, of the 411 cases involving a forced marriage, only 25% occurred outside a context of honour-based abuse; the other 75% occurred within an honour context (table 16). So, overall, most cases involving a forced marriage occurred in the context of a wider pattern of honour-related abuse.

Forced marriage seems to occur more commonly in cases which fit *Type II* in terms of victim and perpetrator relationships than where an intimate partner was involved (*Types I* and *III*) (see table 16). It is however possible that some of the *Type III* cases involved marriages which were not considered at the time by the victim to be forced, but which could meet the national definition of forced marriage (e.g. case P034—see table 17).

Key findings from chapters 6 and 7

Chapter 6 showed how three overall types of honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases emerged from an examination of the people in the datasets—in particular, from the relationships between victims and perpetrators. It outlined how certain characteristics of both victims and perpetrators were common and different between these types. This chapter has built on that, describing the nature of the abusive experiences in these datasets, examining the inter-relation of forced marriage with honour-based abuse, and showing how these elements are similar and different between the three case types. The following table

⁷ One (S01OUT07) involved a girl's adoptive family (her biological aunt and uncle and cousin) possibly threatening her with forced marriage; there is a suggestion it may relate to her perceived flirtation with boys on a visit to India, which could suggest an honour-related motive but is not clear enough evidence of honour-based abuse. The second (S01HELP11) involved a girl being policed at home by her parents who has refused to marry despite pressure from her mother. The case notes record that the mother has not said the girl's behaviour is bringing shame on the family, so there is not clear evidence of an honour motive (though it is possible).

⁸ For S02 there were five cases in which, although the forced marriage occurred in the context of natal family pressure and/or abuse, there was not clear evidence in the file that it was honour-related. Three of these cases related to forced marriages which had already taken place (S02C10, S02C32 and S02C84), one to a prior attempt by the parents to force her to marry (S02C29), and one to a threat of future forced marriage (S02C24). There were a further two cases, both involving male victims, where the forced marriage seemed to occur without honour. One case (S02C69) involved pressure on a 19 year old British man from his parents to marry a cousin in India, in order that his wife would care for his disabled sisters. The other (S02C78) involved a 20 year old British man whose parents tried to force him to marry in Pakistan in order to obtain a visa for a family friend. Taken together, these represent seven cases (33% of the forced marriage cases) where the forced marriage was not clearly linked to honour.

summarises the key features of victims, perpetrators and the abusive experience discussed in chapters 6 and 7.

Table 20: Summary of findings from chapters 6 and 7—Key features of victims, perpetrators and forms of abuse (Police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)

	Key findings: overall dataset
Victims	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heavily gendered abuse, with 94% female and 4% male victims • Only 1% of victims identified as LGBT, but sexuality a trigger for abuse • LGBT victims more likely associated with forced marriage than other forms of honour-based abuse • Victims mainly in their 20s and 30s. Forced marriage victims younger with more under 25 yrs, whilst victims of other forms of honour-based abuse similar in age to victims of other domestic abuse (most commonly 25-34 yrs) • 13 different victim ethnicities recorded, though most (64%) South Asian • 20% of cases involved White British victims: in 90% perpetrator was a current/ex intimate partner. Police, S01 & S02 datasets show majority of cases with White British victim have BME perpetrator • 26 different nationalities recorded: victims were most likely British/EEA nationals (39%), followed by Pakistani (22%) • One-fifth (20%) had no recourse to public funds • Where religion known (70% unknown), Muslim most common (21% of all cases), but Sikh, Hindu, Christian and Atheist all represented
Perpetrators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 57% cases involved multiple perpetrators • Primary perpetrator was mostly male (48%, compared with 4% female) • Male primary perpetrator most often current or ex intimate partner, followed by victim's father, brother or uncle • Half (50%) involved one or more secondary female perpetrators – often alongside secondary male perpetrators • Female perpetrators mostly female relatives – most often mother or mother-in-law, followed by sisters or aunts • 3 main perpetrator groups: current/ex intimate partner, natal family, and in-laws • Over two-thirds (69%) involved current/ex intimate partner perpetrator – at least half of these acted with someone else (usually victim's in-laws, sometimes victim's natal family)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Where no current/ex intimate partner involved, perpetrators most often victim's natal family members
Forms of abuse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Just under one-third (28%) involved forced marriage • Three-quarters (75%) of forced marriage occurred in wider context of honour-based abuse; only 25% did not • Forced marriage victims more likely to be LGBT (2.8%) compared with victims of other honour-based abuse (0.7%) • 77% experienced more than one type of abuse; similar to all-domestic abuse (76%) • In richer police, S01 & S02 datasets, 37% experienced 3 or 4 types, and 10% 5 or 6 types • Abuse profile similar to other domestic abuse, with coercive control/emotional abuse (89%) and physical abuse (62%) most common, and 66% assessed high risk • Some differences: more sexual abuse in these cases (28% cf. 19% for all-domestic abuse), and less likely to reach MARAC threshold (45% cf. 54%)

The next chapter (8) will analyse these key victim, perpetrator and abuse characteristics quantitatively, to test the strength of emerging associations.

Chapter 8: FINDINGS (Quantitative)–Testing the types

Introduction

This chapter provides quantitative analysis to address the following research questions:

1. What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve?
2. How does forced marriage relate to honour-based abuse?
3. Should honour-based abuse be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse?

The descriptive analysis in chapter 6 of the people and relationships in the datasets identified the number of perpetrators, and relationship(s) of perpetrator to victim as key features. Three case types were developed on this basis, and certain features of the abusive experience were shown in chapter 7 to relate to these three different types.

Chapter 8 tests the associations between type and key variables relating to victim, perpetrator, nature of the abuse and criminal justice system interactions. The first part of the chapter cross-references these variables with the types, giving frequencies (tables 22, 24, 26 and 28), and testing the associations between each variable and type using Pearson's chi-square statistic (tables 23, 25, 27 and 29). The second part of the chapter, drawing on those variables shown to be significant in the first part, uses logistic regression modelling to test which variables are predictors of whether a case will fall into one type or another, and whether they are still significant when all other variables are held constant. It develops this regression modelling to predict whether a case will involve an intimate partner perpetrator or not, and to model which variables are significantly associated with cases involving forced marriage compared to those which do not.

Types and data collection sites

All cases in the police, S01 and S02 datasets were classified into the three types, based on the key defining feature of the relationship between victim and perpetrator(s). To recap, they were:

Type I: Partner abuse

Type II: Family abuse

Type III: Partner plus family abuse

The three types were replicated in the Insights dataset using a proxy measure which combined two variables: 'relationship of primary perpetrator to victim' and 'are there multiple perpetrators?'. Because the types in Insights were developed using a proxy (rather than directly coded from the case narrative), the analysis of the types in this chapter is set out separately in a (combined) police/S01/S02 dataset and the Insights dataset, as well as in an overall combined dataset, to highlight any differences between the variables in the different datasets. The proportions of each type in the datasets was as follows:

Table 21: Type of honour-based abuse by dataset

	Police, S01 & S02 <i>n</i>=162	Insights <i>n</i>=1312	Combined dataset <i>n</i>=1474
<i>Type I: Partner abuse</i>	27% (43)	40% (519)	38% (562)
<i>Type II: Family abuse</i>	40% (64)	28% (351)	28% (415)
<i>Type III: Partner plus family abuse</i>	28% (46)	31% (396)	30% (442)
'Other' or missing data	6% (9)	4% (46)	4% (55)

Table 21 shows that the proportions of each type varied somewhat by dataset, with more of the *Type I* group and less *Type II* in Insights. There were similar rates of *Type III* across the datasets. This study does not seek precisely to assess the proportions of honour-based abuse cases which fall into each of the types identified. However, it is worth observing that across all datasets the breakdown of cases between the types is close to an even three-way split.

Table 22: Pearson's chi-square association of *site* with *type* (Police/S01/S02 dataset)

Variable	Categories	Chi-square value
Site	Police S01 S02	10.492*
* significant at $p < 0.05$ ** significant at $p < 0.01$ *** significant at $p < 0.001$		

The variable *site* (in the police/S01/S02 dataset) was tested for association with *type*, to see if it was a confounding variable. In other words, whether the three different data collection sites might account for patterns or relationships observed in the variables and thus whether the sites (rather than types) might be responsible for differences. Table 22 shows that a significant relationship was found between *site* and *type*. Two measures were taken to mitigate this effect:

- First, where regression analysis was conducted on the combined police/S01/S02 dataset, site was included as a variable in all regression analyses, and its influence on the outcome variables reported;
- Second, the Insights dataset was used to test and replicate associations between variables, because Insights did not have the *site* variable. In fact, for two of the three final regression models, only the Insights datasets was used, thereby removing the potential confounding variable of site in these models.

Profiling the types

Victim characteristics by type

Tables 23, 25, 29 and 30 present frequency data for the three types by key variables for victim, perpetrator, experience of abuse and criminal justice outcomes.⁹ The combined

⁹ Not all the victim variables in chapter 6 were compared by type, because some contained large amounts of missing data and therefore numbers of cases were too small when broken down into the three case types to be meaningful for analysis. For this reason, 'sexual orientation' of the victim was excluded. Because the 'immigration status' variable and the 'nationality' variable overlapped so closely, and the nationality variable did not exist in a comparable form in the Insights data, only immigration status was looked at in the analysis in this chapter. There were a total of 153 cases in the Police, S01 and S02 datasets because 9 cases were coded as 'Other' types and were excluded. There were a total of 1,266 cases in Insights for which data were available to classify the cases into types (46 cases were missing the variables needed to designate type, and so were excluded).

police/S01/S01 dataset is reported separately to the Insights dataset. Pearson's chi-square statistic using cross-tabs in SPSS was run to test for significant associations: these are reported in tables 24, 26, 30 and 32.

Table 23: Victim variables by type (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Victim variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Victim age												
Under 18yrs	2	5%	9	2%	6	9%	52	15%	1	2%	8	2%
18-24 yrs	5	12%	52	10%	35	55%	134	38%	11	24%	49	12%
25-34 yrs	22	56%	200	39%	16	25%	123	35%	26	57%	212	53%
35-44 yrs	8	19%	188	36%	3	5%	22	6%	4	9%	99	25%
45yrs+	4	9%	70	13%	2	3%	20	6%	1	2%	28	7%
DK/Missing	2	-	0	-	2	3%	0	-	3	7%	0	-
Victim age - grouped												
Under 25yrs	7				41				12			
25 yrs +	34				21				31			
DK/missing	2				2				3			
Victim gender¹⁰												
Includes female	42	98%	502	97%	56	88%	322	92%	41	89%	379	96%
Includes male	2	5%	8	2%	12	19%	17	5%	5	11%	9	2%
DK/Missing	1	3%	9	2%	2	3%	12	3%	1	2%	8	2%
Victim ethnicity												
Black African/Caribbean	4	9%	44	8%	4	6%	32	9%	3	7%	25	6%
Middle Eastern/Arab	0	-	10	2%	8	13%	13	4%	2	4%	3	<1%
South Asian	24	56%	252	49%	46	72%	269	77%	37	80%	285	72%
White British/European	9	21%	165	32%	2	3%	23	7%	2	4%	50	13%
Other/Missing	6	14%	48	9%	4	6%	14	4%	2	4%	33	8%

¹⁰ For the police/S01/S02 dataset, this will not add up to 100% since some cases have both a male and female victim. For Insights, the variable just captures primary victim gender, so sums to 100%.

Victim variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Victim ethnicity (grouped)–South Asian or not												
South Asian	24	56%	252	49%	46	72%	269	77%	37	80%	285	72%
Non South Asian	13	30%	258	50%	14	22%	79	23%	7	15%	106	27%
DK/missing	6	14%	9	1%	4	6%	3	<1%	2	4%	5	1%
Victim sexual orientation												
Heterosexual	40	93%	491	95%	47	73%	326	93%	40	87%	378	95%
LGBT	0	-	2	<1%	3	5%	8	2%	2	4%	1	<1%
DK/missing	3	7%	26	5%	14	22%	17	5%	3	7%	17	4%
Victim immigration status												
No Recourse to Public Funds	3	7%	94	18%	5	8%	45	13%	9	20%	119	30%
Has recourse/DK	40	93%	425	82%	59	92%	306	87%	37	80%	277	70%
Victim religion												
Atheist	0	-			1	2%			0	-		
Christian	2	5%			0	-			1	2%		
Hindu	0	-			2	4%			1	2%		
Muslim	6	14%			16	25%			12	26%		
Sikh	2	5%			2	4%			3	7%		
DK/Missing	33	77%	519	100%	43	67%	351	100%	29	63%	396	100%

Table 24: Pearson's chi-square associations of victim variables with *type* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)¹¹

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162)	Insights (n=1312)
Victim age	<18 yrs 18-24 yrs 25-34 yrs 35-44 yrs 45yrs + DK/missing	Test not valid	291.268***
Victim age (grouped)	<25 yrs 25yrs + DK/missing	28.914***	224.370***
Victim gender	Includes female Includes male DK/missing	3.945	9.437**
Victim ethnicity	Black African/Caribbean Middle Eastern/Arab South Asian White British/European Other /missing	Test not valid	132.152***
Victim ethnicity (grouped)	South Asian Non South Asian DK/missing	4.095	87.657***
Victim sexual orientation	Heterosexual LGBT DK/missing	Test not valid	Test not valid
Victim immigration status	No Recourse to Public Funds Has Recourse/DK	3.366	39.058***
Victim religion	Atheist Christian Hindu Muslim Sikh DK/missing	Test not valid	Variable doesn't exist
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001			

Table 23 shows that *Type II* victims were younger, with many more being in the under 18 and 18-24 age groups than in the other types. *Type I* and *Type III* victims were older, with more 25-34 year olds. *Type I* also contained the highest proportions of victims aged 34-45 and 44+. The older age profile of *Types I* and *III* is perhaps to be expected since, by definition, these victims had a regular intimate partner. Table 24 shows a significant association between

¹¹ For all chi-square tests, SPSS was told to exclude missing data ('Don't Know' response category). Unless otherwise indicated, 'test not valid' in relation to any chi-squares test is used to indicate that more than 20% of the sub-groups (cells) contained fewer than five cases, thereby violating the assumption for the test.

victim age and *type*: this was particularly pronounced when comparing victims under and over age 25, which was highly significant in both datasets.¹²

All the types were heavily gendered, with many more female than male victims. Table 23 shows that where there were male victims, they were more likely to be victims of *Type II*—but the numbers were still small, with just under 5 times as many female victims in this category as male. Table 24 finds a significant association between *victim gender* and *type*, with more male victims associated with *Type II* than the other types.¹³

Victims in all types were most likely to be of South Asian ethnicity. However, this was more pronounced in *Types II* and *III*: table 22 shows that around three-quarters of those cases were South Asian, compared with around a half in *Type I*. By contrast, *Type I* was more likely to involve White British/European victims, accounting for between 21 and 32% of *Type I* in the different datasets. Similar (smaller) numbers of cases were of Black African/Caribbean and Middle Eastern/Arab ethnicities across all types. Table 24 finds a significant association between *victim ethnicity* and *type*, with South Asian victims strongly associated with *Types II* and *III*, and White victims with *Type I*.¹⁴

Over 90% of victims in all types were in heterosexual relationships (table 23). Very slightly higher proportions of LGBT victims were recorded in *Type II*, but the differences amounted to one or two cases so cannot be seen as significant. The assumptions for the chi-square test were not met for this variable in either dataset.

Type III had a higher proportion of victims with No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF), a factor which makes victims especially vulnerable due to their insecure immigration status (table 23). This may suggest that *Type III* was characterized by more immigrant spouses living with their husband and in-laws in this country, whereas *Type I* involved more British girls. No significant

¹² The standardized residuals showed that this association was between *Type II* and victims aged under 25yrs, and between *Type I* (and, to a lesser extent, *Type III*) and victims aged 25 and older, with a significant association also between *Type I* and the age bracket 35-44.

¹³ The standardized residuals showed that the association was between male victims and *Type II*.

¹⁴ The standardized residuals for the Insights dataset showed a significant association between South Asian ethnicity victims and *Types II* and *III*; conversely White victims were significantly associated with *Type I*. There was a less strong ($p < 0.05$) association between Middle Eastern/Arab ethnicity victims and *Type III*. These links are replicated in the grouped ethnicity variable, with South Asian ethnicity associated with *Types II* and *III* and less likely with *Type I*.

association was found in the police/S01/S02 dataset; but there was a highly significant association of *NRPF* and *type* in Insights (table 24). Victims with No Recourse were associated with *Type III* and much less with *Type II*.¹⁵ This seems to confirm the picture that *Type III* victims were more immigration-vulnerable.

Table 23 shows that, where known, victim religion was most commonly Muslim—this accounted for one-quarter of cases. There were slightly fewer Muslim victims in *Type I* (14%). There were smaller but observable numbers of Hindu, Christian and Sikh victims spread fairly evenly across the types. Chi-square tests were not valid for religion in either dataset.

Perpetrator characteristics by type

Table 25: Perpetrator variables by *type* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Perpetrator variables	<i>Type I: Partner abuse</i>				<i>Type II: Family abuse</i>				<i>Type III: Partner plus family abuse</i>			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Multiple perpetrators												
Single	22	51%	519	100%	6	9%	65	19%	0	0%	0	-
Multiple	21	49%	0	-	58	91%	281	81%	46	100%	396	100%
DK	0	0%	0	-	0	0%	5	<1%	0	0%	0	-
Primary perpetrator gender												
Primary perpetrator male	41	95%	273	53%	46	72%	103	29%	38	83%	180	45%
Primary perpetrator female	2	5%	5	<1%	10	16%	28	8%	4	9%	1	<1%
DK/Missing	0	0%	241	46%	8	13%	220	63%	4	9%	215	54%

¹⁵ The standardized residuals showed that No Recourse to Public Funds was associated with *Type III*, and was much less likely in *Type II*.

Perpetrator variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Grouping variable – includes a female perpetrator?												
Yes	3	7%			43	67%			30	65%		
No	26	60%			10	16%			5	11%		
DK/missing	14	33%			11	17%			11	24%		
Who are female perpetrator(s)	n=4				n=44				n=30			
Current/ex wife or gf	2	50%			0	0%			4	13%		
Mother-in-law	0	0%			3	7%			11	37%		
Sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law	0	0%			1	2%			4	13%		
Mother-in-law and sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law	0	0%			1	2%			4	13%		
Own mother	2	50%			35	81%			4	13%		
Own sister(s) or aunt(s)	0	0%			2	4%			2	7%		
Mother and sister(s) or aunt(s)	0	0%			0	0%			0	0%		
Mother-in-law and mother	0	0%			2	4%			1	3%		
DK	0	0%			0	0%			0	0%		
Perpetrator(s) relationship to victim												
Current/ex intimate partner only	22	51%			0	0%			0	0%		
Current/ex intimate partner and in-law(s)	8	19%			0	0%			28	61%		
Current/ex intimate partner and natal family	13	30%			0	0%			12	26%		

Perpetrator variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Current/ex intimate partner and in-law(s) and natal family	0	0%			0	0%			6	13%		
In-law(s) only	0	0%			7	11%			0	0%		
Natal family only	0	0%			56	88%			0	0%		
In-law(s) and natal family	0	0%			1	1%			0	0%		
DK	0	0%			0	0%			0	0%		
Type II: Whose family members?												
Woman's family v woman					39	61%						
Woman's family v man					1	2%						
Woman's family v both					9	14%						
Man's family v man					5	8%						
Man's family v woman					4	6%						
Man's family v both					2	3%						
Both families v woman					0	0%						
Both families v man					1	2%						
Both families v both					3	4%						
DK					0	0%						
Type II: Which family members?					n=56							
Own parent(s)					14	25%						
Sibling(s)					4	7%						
Aunt/uncle/extended family					1	2%						
Own parent(s) + sibling(s)					13	23%						

Perpetrator variables	<i>Type I: Partner abuse</i>				<i>Type II: Family abuse</i>				<i>Type III: Partner plus family abuse</i>			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Own parent(s) + aunt/uncle/extended family					20	36%						
DK					4	7%						
<i>Type III: Whose family members?</i>												
Woman's family v woman									10	22%		
Woman's family v man									4	9%		
Woman's family v both									0	0%		
<i>Total woman's family</i>									14	31%		
Man's family v man									1	2%		
Man's family v woman									23	50%		
Man's family v both									0	0%		
<i>Total man's family</i>									24	52%		
Both families v woman									6	13%		
Both families v man									0	0%		
Both families v both									2	4%		
DK									0	0%		
<i>Type III: Are abuses related?¹⁶</i>												
Yes, related									33	72%		
No, not related									13	28%		
DK									0	0%		

¹⁶ This variable measures whether abuse from the intimate partner and family members was connected—either i.e. related to the same motivation. For example, domestic abuse from a partner plus his family members would be deemed related—whereas current domestic abuse from a partner plus prior abuse from the victim's own family members would be unrelated.

Table 26: Pearson's chi-square associations of perpetrator variables with *type* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162)	Insights (n=1312)
Multiple perpetrators	Single Multiple DK	Test not valid	Test not valid
Primary perpetrator gender	Primary perp male Primary perp female DK/missing	Test not valid	75.882***
Includes a female perpetrator	Yes No	50.714 (2) ***	Variable doesn't exist
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001			

Perpetrator demographic characteristics (age, ethnicity, nationality, religion) were not available in Insights. When these demographic data were broken down into the three types for the police/S01/S02 dataset there were large amounts missing and therefore it was not meaningful to look at these variables. So, the perpetrator variables looked at by type of case were: number of perpetrators, gender and relationship of perpetrator(s) to victim.

Table 25 shows that almost all cases in *Types II* and *III*, and half those in *Type I*, involved multiple perpetrators. The variable was not valid for Insights. This connection is logical, since, by definition, these types mostly involved either more than one (*Type III*) or a single (*Type I*) perpetrator. Because of this connection, chi-square tests were not run on this variable. The relationship between *multiple perpetrators* and other case variables was also examined (see table 27).

Table 27: Pearson's chi-square association of victim variables with *multiple perpetrators* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162)	Insights (n=1312)
Victim age	Under 25yrs 25 yrs +	.665	32.538***
Victim gender	Male Female	Not valid	4.808*
Victim ethnicity	Not South Asian South Asian	6.534**	83.207***
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001			

Whilst all victims were more likely to have multiple perpetrators than a single perpetrator, table 27 shows that younger victims (aged under 25yrs) were significantly associated with multiple perpetrators, as were male victims, and South Asian victims.

Table 25 shows that, overall, primary perpetrators were men across all types: 95%, 72% and 83% respectively in the police/S01/S02 dataset. However, primary female perpetrators were more common in *Type II*: 16% of those cases compared with 5% and 9% in *Types I* and *III*. This pattern was replicated in the Insights dataset, with 8% primary female perpetrators in *Type II* compared with less than 1% in both other types. Table 26 shows a significant association between perpetrator *gender* and *type*, with female primary perpetrators most associated with *Type II* and least with *Type I*.¹⁷ Table 25 shows the involvement of a female secondary perpetrator to be strikingly high in *Type II* (65%) and *Type III* (67%) (police/S01/S02 dataset). By contrast, a female was only involved in 7% of *Type I* cases.

Where a female perpetrator was involved, their relationship to the victim was analysed (for the police/S01/S02 dataset—the variable was not available for Insights). Table 25 shows that *Type I* had only three cases involving a female perpetrator: two of these were the current or ex intimate partner, and one was the victim’s mother. In *Type II* the female perpetrator was mostly the victim’s own mother (79%). In *Type III* it was most commonly the victim’s female in laws: 37% the mother-in-law only, and 26% the mother-in-law acting together with sisters-in-law or aunts-in-law. Smaller proportions (13% each) involved the victim’s own mother, or their female current or ex intimate partner.

The relationship between involvement of a female perpetrator and other case variables was also examined for the police/S01/S02 dataset (Insights variable only counts primary female perpetrators). See table 28.

¹⁷ The standardized residuals showed that female primary perpetrators were more associated with *Type II*, and less with *Types I* and *III*. In the police/S01/S02 dataset, standardized residuals showed that involvement of a female perpetrator was less likely in *Type I* and more likely in *Types II* and *III*. The combination suggests that *Type II* was most likely to involve a female perpetrator in a lead role, and *Types II* and *III* more likely to involve a female in any role.

Table 28: Pearson's chi-square association of victim variables with *female perpetrator involved* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162)
Victim age	Under 25yrs 25 yrs +	.135
Victim gender	Male Female	2.388
Victim ethnicity	Non South Asian South Asian	6.615*
Multiple perpetrators	Single Multiple	41.588***
Intimate partner perpetrator	Intimate partner involved Intimate partner not involved	10.215**
Physical abuse	No Yes	7.932**
Sexual abuse	No Yes	11.141**

Table 28 shows involvement of a female perpetrator was significantly associated with South Asian victims, non-intimate partner primary perpetrators, and with less physical and sexual abuse. The ethnicity point may suggest that professionals identifying abuse as honour-based are more likely to consider the extended family, especially female relatives, as perpetrators in this type of abuse. The nature of the abusive behaviour in cases involving female relatives seemed to be more commonly emotional/psychological or controlling, rather than physical violence. Female perpetrators were highly significantly associated with the presence of multiple perpetrators (table 28). Coupled with the significant association between female perpetrators being non-intimate partners, this underlines that women are involved in the abuse where there is more than one perpetrator, and these women are usually family members.

Type II was characterized by abuse from the victim's natal family, and *Type III* by abuse from the victim's (partner plus) in-laws. Examination of the relationship in table 25 of the overall perpetrator(s) to victim confirms this: 88% of perpetrators in *Type II* were the victim's natal family members, whereas 61% of *Type III* were the (partner plus) in-laws and only 26% (partner plus) natal family members. *Types II* and *III* were examined to see the breakdown of which family members were involved in the abuse. Table 25 also shows that three-quarters (77%) of *Type II* cases involved the woman's family as perpetrators, mainly against the woman herself (61% of all *Type II*), some against both partners (14%) and a few against the man (2%).

A small number involved the man's family; against the man (8%), against his partner (6%), with only a couple against both (3%). The smallest number of cases involved both families (6% in total). This pattern illustrates two things: (1) *Type II* perpetrators were overwhelmingly own family members against their own son/daughter, and (2) this was gendered, with the women's family (rather than the man's) being responsible in almost all the cases. In the 56 *Type II* cases perpetrated by the victim's natal family members, this was most often the victim's parents plus extended family members (36%). The next most common group was their parents only (25%), followed by parents plus one or more siblings (23%). This underlines the significance of parents (with or without other family members) as perpetrators in *Type II*.

Table 25 shows that, in total, 52% of *Type III* cases involved the man's family as perpetrators (in addition to the partner), almost all against the woman (i.e. their son's female partner). In total 31% of cases involved the woman's family, almost all also against the woman; and 17% involved both families, almost all against both partners. Taken altogether, these patterns confirm that the woman is the victim in most cases, with the family perpetrators in *Type II* being mainly her own natal family—where there are family member perpetrators alongside an intimate partner perpetrator (*Type III*), the family members are mostly in-laws rather than natal family members. In just under three-quarters of cases (72%) in *Type III*, the abuse from the intimate partner and the family members was related—i.e. connected in either time or motive (table 25). For the quarter that was unrelated, this tended to involve abuse from a current or ex intimate partner plus (separately, e.g. previously or subsequently), abuse from the victim's natal family.

Abuse characteristics by type

Table 29: Abuse variables by type (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Abuse variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Forms of abuse												
Coercive control/ emotional abuse												
Yes	35	81%	442	85%	49	77%	304	87%	40	87%	355	90%
No/DK	8	19%	77	15%	15	23%	47	13%	6	13%	41	10%
Harassment/ stalking												
Yes	18	42%	313	60%	22	34%	211	60%	15	33%	255	64%
No/DK	25	58%	206	40%	44	66%	140	40%	28	65%	141	36%
Physical abuse												
Yes	24	56%	325	63%	28	44%	184	52%	35	76%	284	72%
No/DK	19	44%	194	37%	36	56%	167	48%	11	24%	112	28%
Sexual abuse												
Yes	11	26%	157	30%	4	6%	28	8%	15	33%	169	43%
No/DK	32	74%	362	70%	60	94%	323	92%	31	67%	227	57%
Threats to kill												
Yes	13	30%			22	34%			25	58%		
No/DK	30	70%			42	66%			21	42%		
Forced marriage												
Yes	6	14%	74	14%	38	59%	193	55%	9	20%	75	19%
No/DK	37	86%	445	86%	26	41%	158	45%	37	80%	321	81%
Risk												
Non-high risk (<10)			171	33%			162	46%			99	25%
High risk (10+)			344	66%			184	52%			294	74%
DK			4	<1%			5	1%			3	<1%
MARAC threshold												
Yes			157	30%			97	28%			124	31%
No			362	70%			254	72%			272	69%
Multiple abuses												
1 form	11	26%	73	14%	17	28%	38	11%	7	15%	40	10%
2 forms	15	35%	160	31%	15	23%	116	33%	11	24%	87	22%
3 forms	9	21%	135	26%	13	20%	114	32%	8	17%	132	33%
4 forms	3	7%	107	21%	12	19%	66	19%	14	30%	101	26%
5 forms	3	7%	17	3%	6	9%	9	3%	6	13%	25	6%
6 forms	2	4%			0	0%			0	0%		
DK	0	0%	27	5%	0	0%	8	2%	0	0%	11	3%

Table 30: Pearson's chi-square associations of abuse variables with *type* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162)	Insights (n=1312)
Coercive control/emotional abuse	Yes No/DK	Test not valid	4.752
Harassment/stalking	Yes No/DK	1.191	2.018
Physical abuse	Yes No/DK	6.087*	30.287***
Sexual abuse	Yes No/DK	21.982***	116.087***
Threats to kill	Yes No/DK	4.846	Variable doesn't exist
Forced marriage	Yes No/DK	30.039***	195.214***
Risk	Non HR (<10) High risk (10+) DK	Variable doesn't exist	38.723***
MARAC threshold	Yes No	Variable doesn't exist	1.267
Multiple abuses	1 form 2 forms 3 forms 4 forms 5 forms 6 forms DK	10.060	35.867***
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001			

As with overall domestic abuse (SafeLives, 2015), table 29 shows that, across all the datasets, the most common form of abuse (present in 80 to 90% of cases) for all types was coercive control/emotional abuse. Harassment and stalking was present in even proportions across the types. The rate of threats to kill was notably higher in *Type III* (58%) compared with *Types I* and *II* (30% and 34%) (table 29)—however, there was more missing data in these latter groups. Table 30 shows that no significant association was found between *type* and emotional/coercive control, harassment/stalking or threats to kill. The high levels of missing data in threats to kill may obscure an association, which future work might usefully test for in a larger dataset.

Physical abuse was most common in *Type III*, and least in *Type II* (table 29). Table 30 shows that the association was significant.¹⁸ Sexual abuse was more common in the groups which involved intimate partner perpetrators: 26-30% in *Type I* and 33-43% in *Type III* (table 29). It was much lower in *Type II*, at only 6-8% of cases (table 29). This makes sense since, by definition, there is a sexual intimate partner relationship involved in *Types I* and *III* and not *Type II*. This association between sexual abuse and *Types I* and *III* was found to be highly significant (table 30).¹⁹ *Type II* cases typically involved forced marriage, which was present in 55-59% of cases (table 29). It was only present in 20% or less of the other types. This association between forced marriage and *Type II* was found to be highly significant.

In terms of risk levels (variables only available in Insights), table 29 shows that *Type II* was least likely to be scored high risk (52%), followed by *Type I* (66%) then *Type III* (74%). All three types were almost exactly as likely as each other to be deemed to meet the threshold for MARAC, however (30%, 28% and 31% respectively). Table 30 shows a highly significant association between *risk* and *type*, with *Type II* cases least likely to be judged high risk on the DASH RIC, and *Type III* most likely high risk.²⁰ There was no significant association between MARAC threshold and *type*. This may suggest that *Type II* cases score lower risk on the actuarial tool (DASH RIC), though are escalated to a MARAC referral for other reasons (e.g. professional judgement related to perceived risk from honour context).

Only around a quarter of *Type I* and *Type II* cases in the police/S01/S02 dataset involved just one form of abuse: the majority involved multiple forms. Even more (85%) of *Type III* had multiple forms (table 29). This pattern was replicated across cases at every level: *Type III* was more likely to involve four forms, and five forms (table 29). This may be explained by the fact that *Type III*, by definition, always involved multiple perpetrators, with potentially more opportunity for abuse. This association of multiple forms of abuse and *type* was found to be significant in the Insights dataset (table 30).

¹⁸ The standardized residuals showed the association in both datasets to be that physical abuse was less likely in *Type II* and more likely in *Type III*.

¹⁹ The standardized residuals showed that it was more likely in *Types I* and *III* and less likely in *Type II* in the police/S01/S02 dataset. In Insights the contrast between *Types II* and *III* was more pronounced, with *Type II* being much less likely and *Type III* much more likely to have sexual abuse.

²⁰ The standardized residuals show that *Type II* cases were more likely to be considered not high risk, and *Type III* more likely considered high risk.

Criminal Justice System characteristics by type

Table 31: CJS variables by type (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

CJS variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Known to police												
Yes	41	95%	337	65%	60	94%	212	60%	40	87%	250	63%
No	1	2%	142	27%	3	5%	120	34%	3	7%	119	30%
Don't Know	1	2%	40	8%	1	1%	19	5%	3	7%	27	7%
Crime classification												
Crime associated	22	51%			12	19%			18	39%		
No crime associated	14	33%			23	36%			13	28%		
Don't Know	7	16%			29	45%			15	33%		
Arrest			n=93 ²¹				n=56				n=58	
Arrest made			30	32%			6	11%			9	16%
No arrest			7	8%			5	9%			1	1%
DK/Missing			56	60%			45	80%			48	83%
Charge			% of 93				% of 56				% of 58	
Perpetrator charged (1 or more charges)²²	5	12%	44	47%	1	2%	12	21%	8	17%	19	33%
Total No Further Action²³	12	28%	11	13%	22	34%	5	9%	12	26%	2	3%
Cautioned	1	2%	0	1%	1	2%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Other/DK	25	58%	38	41%	40	63%	39	70%	26	57%	37	64%

²¹ Variables from arrest onward relate to a subset of 214 Insights cases for which there were more detailed criminal justice data. In total, 207 of the 214 fitted the three abuse types—93 cases, 56 cases and 58 cases, respectively.

²² This measure is whether the police recommended a charge to the CPS. In the 105 cases in the Insights data where police recommended a charge, the CPS authorised a charge in 38, made further enquiries in 4, took NFA in 3, and it was unknown in the remaining 60 cases.

²³ This measure includes cases where NFA was taken at either the police and CPS stages (there were only 3 cases where a charge was recommended by police and the CPS took NFA).

CJS variables	Type I: Partner abuse				Type II: Family abuse				Type III: Partner plus family abuse			
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)		P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)		P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)	
Offences			% of 93				% of 56				% of 58	
Offences against the person												
ABH s47			3	3%			2	4%			8	14%
Assault by penetration			1	1%			0	0%			0	0%
Attempted murder			0	0%			0	0%			1	2%
Breach restraining order			3	3%			0	0%			3	5%
Breach non molestation order			2	2%			0	0%			0	0%
Common assault			21	23%			5	9%			9	16%
Forced marriage			0	0%			0	0%			1	2%
GBH s18			1	1%			2	4%			1	2%
Harassment s2			3	3%			1	2%			0	0%
Harassment s4			2	2%			3	5%			1	2%
Rape			1	1%			0	0%			0	0%
Threats to kill			4	4%			1	2%			0	0%
Witness intimidation			1	1%			0	0%			2	3%
Other offences against the person			0	0%			0	0%			1	2%
DK charge			1	1%			0	0%			2	4%
Offences against property												
Arson			1	1%			0	0%			0	0%
Criminal damage			7	8%			1	2%			2	4%
Other offences against property			1	1%			1	2%			0	0%
DK charge			4	4%			0	0%			1	2%

CJS variables	Type I: Partner abuse			Type II: Family abuse			Type III: Partner plus family abuse		
	P, S01, S02 (n=43)		Insights (n=519)	P, S01, S02 (n=64)		Insights (n=351)	P, S01, S02 (n=46)		Insights (n=396)
Convictions and penalties			% of 93			% of 56			% of 58
Community order – DV related			4 4%			0 0%			3 5%
Community order – Other specified activity			2 2%			2 4%			0 0%
Community order – Other			4 4%			1 2%			3 5%
Suspended sentence with DV-related activity order			2 2%			1 2%			1 2%
Suspended sentence with other requirements			4 4%			0 0%			1 2%
Custodial – up to 12 months			5 5%			1 2%			2 3%
Custodial – 12 months or more			6 6%			1 2%			3 5%
Restraining order – Up to 1 yr			7 8%			2 4%			2 3%
Restraining order 1-5 yrs			1 1%			1 2%			2 3%
Restraining order – 5 yrs or more			1 1%			0 0%			0 0%
Restraining order – indefinite			1 1%			0 0%			2 3%
Fine			6 6%			2 4%			1 2%
Caution			2 2%			1 2%			0 0%
Compensation			2 2%			0 0%			1 2%
Other			2 2%			1 2%			3 5%

Table 32: Pearson's chi-square associations of CJS variables with *type* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (<i>n</i> =162)	Insights (<i>n</i> =1312)
Known to police	Yes No DK/Missing	Test not valid	3.789
Crime classification	Crime associated No crime associated DK/missing	6.004	Variable doesn't exist
		(<i>n</i> =162)	(<i>n</i> =207)
Arrest	Arrest made No arrest DK	Variable doesn't exist	Test not valid
Charge	Perp charged Total NFA Cautioned Other/DK	Test not valid	15.991**
* significant at $p < 0.05$ ** significant at $p < 0.01$ *** significant at $p < 0.001$			

Table 31 shows that similar proportions of cases in each type were known to the police in both datasets. Table 32 shows that the only significant association in the CJS variables was between *type* and whether a charge was brought or no further action taken after an initial investigation (Insights data). *Type I* was most associated with a charge (47%), and *Type II* least associated (20%).²⁴ Charges were brought in 33% of *Type III* cases.

Although the other CJS variables in both datasets did not have significant associations with *type*, the percentage breakdowns in table 31 show that, despite all three types being equally known to police, at all stages *Type II* was less likely to attract criminal justice actions. So, in the police/S01/S02 dataset, only 19% of *Type II* cases were associated with a crime, compared with 51% and 39% for *Types I* and *III*; in Insights, *Type I* was more likely to involve an arrest (32%) compared with *Type II* (11%) or *Type III* (16%); and in the police/S01/S02 dataset, only 2% of *Type II* cases attracted a charge, compared with 12% of *Type I* and 17% of *Type III*.

²⁴ The standardized residuals showed that *Type I* was most associated with a charge, followed by *Type III*. *Type II* was least associated with a charge.

The most common offences (Insights data, table 31) were similar across all types: ABH, Common Assault and Criminal Damage. There was more ABH in *Type III*. In *Type I* there was more Common Assault as well as more Threats to Kill, and Criminal Damage. Convictions were recorded in small proportions across the types. There was a higher percentage of both Community Orders and Custodial Sentences recorded in *Types I* and *III* compared with *Type II*, and more restraining orders in *Type I*.

Table 31 shows that cases involving an intimate partner (*Types I* and *III*) were more frequently associated with crimes (51% and 39% respectively) than those which did not (*Type II*—19%). These types involving an intimate partner were more likely than *Type II* to involve an arrest (32% and 16% respectively, compared to 11%), and a charge (47% and 33% compared to 21%). Table 36 shows chi-square comparisons of cases involving an intimate partner (combined *Types I* and *III*) with those that did not (*Type II*). Crimes and charges were both statistically significantly more associated with cases involving an intimate partner perpetrator. This suggests that *Type II* cases are consistently less likely to progress down a criminal justice route than cases which involve intimate partner violence.

In sum, in terms of interactions with criminal justice, the numbers across all the datasets were small and there tended to be significant amounts of missing data. However, there was an observable pattern that *Type II* cases were less likely across the board to be associated with criminal justice actions. When cases were divided into those involving an intimate partner (*Types I* and *III*) and those which did not (*Type II*), this pattern was more pronounced, with *Type II* less likely to be linked to a crime, to involve an arrest or charge.

Summary: Key features of the three types

This section summarises the key associations found between variables and the three types in the preceding analysis.

Table 33: Summary of findings: associations of key variables with *type* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

	Type I: Partner abuse	Type II: Family abuse	Type III: Partner plus family abuse
Victim profile	<p>Majority cases 25-34 yrs, sizeable subgroup 35 yrs +</p> <p>Next to no male victims</p> <p>Majority cases South Asian, but more White British/Irish than other groups</p> <p>IPV Only sub-group – only category without Muslim victims</p>	<p>Majority cases 18-24, more <18s than any other type</p> <p>More male victims than other types, still primarily female</p> <p>Majority cases South Asian</p>	<p>Majority cases 25-34 yrs</p> <p>Majority female victims</p> <p>Majority South Asian</p> <p>Most NRPF out of all types</p>
Perpetrator profile	<p>IPV Only sub-group – almost all single perpetrator; IPV + Honour sub-group - majority multiple perps</p> <p>Very few female perpetrators</p>	<p>Majority cases multiple perpetrators</p> <p>Two-thirds involve a female perpetrator (mostly secondary); and female primary perpetrator in 20%</p> <p>Most associated with natal family perpetrators</p> <p>Majority of female perps are victim's own mother</p>	<p>Majority cases multiple perpetrators</p> <p>Two-thirds involve a female perpetrator (mostly secondary)</p> <p>Most associated with in-law perpetrators</p> <p>Majority of female perps are victim's mother in law</p>
Abuse profile	<p>Coercive control/ emotional abuse most common</p> <p>Physical and sexual abuse more common than other types</p> <p>Threats to kill in one-third of cases</p>	<p>Coercive control/ emotional abuse most common</p> <p>Less physical abuse</p> <p>More forced marriage (60%)</p> <p>Threats to kill in one-third of cases</p> <p>'Lower risk' on RIC score – but same rate of MARAC referral</p>	<p>Coercive control/ emotional abuse most common</p> <p>Physical abuse common</p> <p>Type with most threats to kill – over half of cases</p> <p>More multiple forms of abuse than other types</p>
CJS interactions	<p>Majority known to police</p> <p>Type most associated with crimes</p>	<p>Majority known to police</p> <p>Less likely to have an arrest or charge</p>	<p>Majority known to police</p> <p>Mid-range for association with crime/CJS action/</p>

		<p>Less likely associated with a crime (one-fifth)</p> <p>Least likely to have any CJS action, and most likely No Further Action (NFA)</p>	<p>progression – similar to IPV/IPV+H</p>
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Modelling (logistic regression)

Introduction

So far, associations have been described and tested for significance between individual variables and the three types. The next section uses logistic regression to model combinations of variables and attempt to show which variables collectively are associated with each of the three types. Three models were tested:

Model 1: The three types were modelled using multi-nomial logistic regression—this tested whether the associations between variables and types found in the previous section remained significant when other variables in the model were held constant. The Insights dataset only was used.

Model 2: Intimate partner vs no intimate partner perpetrator was modelled using binomial logistic regression—this tested whether the associations between variables and involvement of an intimate partner perpetrator remained significant when other variables in the model were held constant. This model was run first with the police/S01/S02 dataset, then with the Insights dataset.

Model 3: Forced marriage vs no forced marriage was modelled using binomial logistic regression—this tested whether the associations between variables and the involvement of forced marriage in a case remained significant when other variables in the model were held constant. The Insights datasets only was used.

Chapter 5 and Appendix D set out the process of regression analysis, and describes how the predictor variables and datasets were selected for each model.

Model 1: Predicting the three types

In the preceding section, Pearson's chi-square statistic was used to test for associations between *type* and victim variables (table 23), perpetrator variables (table 25), abuse variables (table 29) and criminal justice variables (table 31). Some 11 variables were found in these tables to be significantly associated with *type* in the Insights dataset: *victim age*, *victim gender*, *victim ethnicity*, *victim immigration status*, *primary perpetrator gender*, *physical abuse*, *sexual abuse*, *forced marriage*, *risk*, *multiple abuses*, and *charge*. The variables *perpetrator gender* and *charge* were excluded because they each had over 50% of missing data and so drastically reduced the overall number of cases in the model. The variable *multiple abuses* was also excluded because it was double counting the variables *physical abuse*, *sexual abuse* and *forced marriage*.

The remaining eight variables (all with binary response categories) were entered into the initial multi-nominal regression model. Variables with very high proportions of missing data were removed from the initial model, and variables found to be non-significant were removed from subsequent models. Table 34 presents the results of the final model (see Appendix D for details of the model development). It contained only the seven variables which remained significant (*physical abuse* was excluded because it became non-significant). The reference category *Type I* was selected for the dependent variable because it was of most interest to compare the types which involved different perpetrators to 'just' intimate partner violence (*Types II and III*) with the type which looked most similar (*Type I*).

Results—Insights dataset

The final model for the Insights dataset (table 34) contained 1,132 valid cases. The model chi-square (488.158) was significant ($p < 0.001$), showing that the model was significantly better at predicting whether or not a case would fall into *Type II* or *Type III* (rather than *Type I*) compared to the base model with no predictor variables included.²⁵ Table 35 shows that it correctly predicted 59% of cases. This varied by outcome category: it was much better at predicting *Type I* (71.5%), and *Type II* (65.1%) and noticeably worse at predicting *Type III*

²⁵ Therefore, the null hypothesis (which is always that the inclusion of predictor variables makes no difference to the predictive power of the model) can be rejected. This holds for all the regression modelling in this chapter.

(37.5%). A Nagelkerke R^2 value of .395 showed that the model explained 39.5% of unexplained variance in the data. Checks were run for multi-collinearity: none was found (see Appendix D).

The purpose of using regression in this study was not primarily to find a single overall model to predict the outcome variable; it was rather to test whether individual variables continued to have a significant effect on the outcome variable *type* when holding all the other variables constant. In the final model for the Insights (table 34), the variable *physical abuse* was the only one found to be no longer significant when holding the other variables steady. This suggests that physical abuse may be linked with another of the predictor variables, rather than having an independent association with *type*.

Table 34 shows that the seven variables *victim age*, *victim gender*, *victim ethnicity*, *victim immigration status*, *sexual abuse*, *forced marriage*, and *risk* were all confirmed to have significant associations with either *Type II* or *Type III* (compared with *Type I*), when holding the other variables steady.

Table 34: Multinomial logistic regression—final model predicting to outcome variable *type* (Insights dataset)

		<i>Final model</i> (<i>n</i> =1132)			
Types II and III compared with Type I (Ref)					
Coefficients		B (SE)	Wald	Exp(B)	95% CI (low-high)
	Intercept (Type II)	-1.022 (.353)	8.396	-	-
	Intercept (Type III)	1.252 (.259)	23.400	-	-
Victim age	Under 25 yrs (Type II)	2.004 (.213)	88.431***	7.421	4.887-11.269
	Under 25 yrs (Type III)	.254 (.219)	1.343	1.289	.839-1.981
	25 yrs or over (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Victim gender	Male (Type II)	1.874 (.540)	12.033**	6.517	2.260-18.791
	Male (Type III)	.908 (.548)	2.742	2.479	.846-7.260
	Female (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Victim ethnicity	Not South Asian (Type II)	-1.191 (.193)	37.943***	.304	.208-.444
	Not South Asian (Type III)	-.945 (.155)	36.981***	.388	.286-.527
	South Asian (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Victim immigration status	Recourse to public funds (Type II)	.313 (.240)	1.707	1.367	.855-2.187
	Recourse to public funds (Type III)	.476 (.172)	7.639**	.621	.443-.871
	No recourse to public funds (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Sexual abuse	No (Type II)	1.475 (.258)	32.689***	4.369	2.636-7.243
	No (Type III)	-.511 (.157)	10.634**	.600	.441-.815

	Yes (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Forced marriage	No (Type II)	-1.720 (.202)	72.342***	.179	.120-.266
	No (Type III)	-.525 (.200)	6.860**	.592	.399-.876
	Yes (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Risk	Non high risk (under 10) (Type II)	.430 (.186)	5.353*	1.537	1.068-2.213
	Non high risk (under 10) (Type III)	-.302 (.168)	3.232	.740	.532-1.028
	High risk (10+) (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Model Chi Square (df)	488.158 (14)***				
-2LL	377.299 (Intercept only model: 865.457)				
Nagelkerke R₂	.395				
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001					

Table 35: Multinomial regression model for type–prediction of variance

	Percent Correct
Type I	71.5%
Type II	65.1%
Type III	37.5%
Overall Percentage	59.0%

The Exp(B) value alongside the Wald statistic indicates the individual contribution of each predictor variable in the model. All seven variables in the model were found to have significant predictive power (to at least one outcome type).

In terms of victim characteristics, table 34 shows that younger victims (aged under 25 yrs) were very significantly more likely to occur in *Type II* cases compared with *Type I* (and vice-versa: victims aged over 25yrs were much more likely in *Type I*). *Type II* cases were also significantly more likely to involve male victims than *Type I*. Neither victim age nor victim gender were significant predictors to *Type III* compared with *Type I*. Victims who were not of South Asian ethnicity were significantly less likely to occur in *Type II* and *Type III* compared with *Type I*. By implication, *Type I* was more likely to have non-South Asian victims and *Types II* and *III* South Asian victims. Victims with Recourse to Public Funds were significantly less likely in *Type III* cases than *Type I* (there was no significant effect of the variable to *Type II*). Thus, *Type III* cases were more likely to involve victims with No Recourse to Public Funds than *Type I* or *Type II*.

Table 34 shows that there were no perpetrator variables with significant effects in this final model. In terms of abuse characteristics, absence of sexual abuse was significantly more likely

in *Type II*, and significantly less likely in *Type III*, compared with *Type I*. So, sexual abuse was more likely to occur in *Type I* than *Type II*, and most likely in *Type III*. No forced marriage was significantly less likely in *Type II* and *Type III* compared with *Type I*—so, victims in both *Types II* and *III* were significantly more likely to have experienced forced marriage than those in *Type I*. The significance of the association was highest for *Type II*. *Type II* cases were significantly more likely to be non-high risk than *Type I*—thus, *Type I* were significantly more likely to be high risk than *Type II*. Risk was not predictive of *Type III*.

This multinomial logistic regression model, predicting to outcome variable *type*, showed that seven variables significantly predicted whether a case fell into one or other type (table 34). The results suggested that the strongest differences were observed between *Type II* and both the other types. Given that the major difference in definition between *Type II* compared with *Types I* and *III* was involvement (or not) of a current or ex intimate partner as a perpetrator, it would be interesting to explore this distinction further. Thus, a new model (Model 2, below) was run using binary logistic regression to predict to the outcome variable *intimate partner perpetrator*. Specifically modelling this question would provide further evidence to answer research question 3 (how honour-based abuse should be conceptualised in relation to domestic and intimate partner abuse).

Model 2: Intimate partner vs no intimate partner perpetrator

Cross-tabulations using Pearson’s chi-square statistic were run for the main variables in both datasets by the variable *intimate partner perpetrator*, which measures whether an intimate partner was involved, or was not. Table 36 shows which variables were observed to have a significant association. For the police/S01/S02 dataset, data collection site was tested and found not to be significant.

Table 36: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim, perpetrator and abuse variables with *intimate partner perpetrator* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162) Chi-square	Insights (n=1312) Chi-square
Data collection site	Police S01 S02	3.238	Variable doesn’t exist

Victim age	<25 yrs 25 yrs +	24.477***	223.534***
Victim gender	Includes male victim Includes female victim	3.237	7.619**
Victim ethnicity	Non South Asian South Asian	.248	34.222***
Victim sexual orientation	LGBT Heterosexual	Test not valid	Test not valid
Victim immigration status	Recourse to public funds No recourse to public funds	3.057	18.550***
Victim religion	Not Muslim Muslim	.519	Variable doesn't exist
Multiple perpetrators	Multiple Single	4.301*	145.310***
Primary perpetrator gender	Male Female	6.171*	76.994***
Female perpetrator involved	No Yes	10.215**	Variable doesn't exist
Coercive control/ emotional abuse	No Yes	Test not valid	.079
Harassment/ stalking	No Yes	.382	1.114
Physical abuse	No Yes	4.022*	21.916***
Sexual abuse	No Yes	21.614***	98.208***
Threats to kill	No Yes	.967	Variable doesn't exist
Forced marriage	No Yes	25.313***	193.355***
Risk	Non high risk (<10) High risk (10+)	Variable doesn't exist	32.473***
MARAC threshold	No Yes	Variable doesn't exist	1.103
Multiple abuses	1 form 2 forms 3 forms 4 forms 5+ forms	2.372	11.672*
Known to police	Yes No	Test not valid	3.120
Crime associated	Yes No	5.619*	Variable doesn't exist
Charge	Charge Caution No Further Action (NFA)	Test not valid	10.505**
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001			

Since enough variables were found to be significant in each dataset in these chi-square tests, binomial logistic regression was run on both datasets.

Results—police/S01/S02 dataset

All seven predictor variables shown in table 36 to have a significant association with the outcome variable *intimate partner perpetrator* in the police/S01/S02 dataset were included in the initial model for that dataset (forced entry). An eighth—*site*—was added, to check whether data collection site might influence the results when holding other variables steady.

Variables with very high proportions of missing data were removed from the initial model, and variables found to be non-significant were removed from subsequent models. Table 37 presents the results of final model (see Appendix D for details of the model development).

The final model for the police/S01/S02 dataset, shown in table 37, contained 119 valid cases and four variables. ‘Intimate partner perpetrator’ was selected as the reference category for the dependent variable for similar reasons as for model 1: namely, it was of interest to see how the cases of honour-based abuse involving family member perpetrators were different to cases involving ‘just’ intimate partner violence. Therefore, the model compared cases involving family member perpetrators to those with intimate partner perpetrators. The model chi-square (49.600) was significant ($p < 0.001$), showing that the model was significantly better at predicting whether a case did not involve an intimate partner perpetrator, compared to the base model with no predictor variables included. It correctly predicted 76.5% of cases. A Nagelkerke R^2 value of .455 showed that the model explained 45.5% of unexplained variance. Checks were run for multi-collinearity and outlying cases: none were found (see Appendix D).

As with model 1, the purpose of using regression was not primarily to find a single overall model to predict the outcome variable; it was rather to test whether individual variables continued to have a significant effect on the outcome variable *intimate partner perpetrator* when holding all the other variables steady. In the final model for the police/S01/S02 data (see table 37), the variables *multiple perpetrators*, *physical abuse* and *sexual abuse* were found to be no longer significant when holding the other variables steady. Previous chapters have shown the involvement of female perpetrators in this dataset to go together with

multiple perpetrators, so it may be whilst there is an association between multiple perpetrators and (non) intimate partner perpetrators, the involvement of female perpetrators is the stronger association, and this is why multiple perpetrators became non-significant in the regression. The reasons why the associations of physical and sexual abuse with a non-intimate partner perpetrator become non-significant are less clear, but it may be that those too were reflecting inter-actions with one of the other predictor variables which were exposed by the regression.

Table 37 shows that the variables *victim age*, *female perpetrator included*, *forced marriage* and *site* were all confirmed to remain significant when holding the other variables steady, confirming their strong associations with the variable *intimate partner perpetrator*.

Table 37: Binomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome variable (no) intimate partner perpetrator (Police/S01/S02 dataset)

		<i>Final model (n=119)</i>			
Coefficients		B (SE)	Wald	Exp(B)	95% CI (low-high)
	Constant	-.043 (.647)	.004	.958	-
Victim age	<25 yrs	1.218 (.498)	5.988*	3.379	1.274-8.961
	25 yrs or over (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Female perpetrator included	Includes female perpetrator	1.876 (.549)	11.692**	6.528	2.227-19.133
	Does not include female perp (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Forced marriage	No forced marriage	-2.015 (.532)	14.340***	.133	.047-.378
	Forced marriage (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Site	Police (1)	-.411 (.551)	.554	.663	.225-1.955
	S01 (2)	-1.511 (.677)	4.988*	.221	.059-.831
	S02 (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Model Chi Square (df)	49.600 (5)***				
-2LL	115.159				
Nagelkerke R₂	.455				
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001					

Reference category is: intimate partner perpetrator involved

Table 38: Binomial regression model for *intimate partner perpetrator* (Police/S01/S02 dataset–prediction of variance

	Percent Correct
Is (ex) IP a perp? Yes	83.9%
No	68.4%
Overall Percentage	76.5%

The Exp(B) value alongside the Wald statistic indicates the individual contribution of each predictor variable in the model. Table 37 shows that victims under 25 yrs old were significantly more likely to involve a non-intimate partner perpetrator when all other variables were held steady; so, those over 25 yrs were more likely to involve an intimate partner perpetrator. Cases with a non-intimate partner perpetrator were very significantly more likely to include a female perpetrator (in either a primary or secondary role) than cases with an intimate partner perpetrator. Cases which involved a forced marriage were much more likely to involve a non-intimate partner perpetrator, and those without were more likely to involve an intimate partner.

Table 37 shows that site S01 was significantly more likely to involve cases with a non-intimate partner perpetrator compared with S02. The police site was not significantly associated with *intimate partner perpetrator*. The significance of site S01 may undermine some of the other predictor variables since it could mean that site, rather than those other variables, accounted for the variance in the model. Running the regression models in the Insights dataset would help test this.

Results–Insights dataset

For the Insights dataset, the variable *multiple abuse* was excluded because it had logical overlap with three other variables (*physical abuse*, *sexual abuse* and *forced marriage*): the presence of any of these would automatically increase the value for the variable *multiple abuses*. The remaining 11 predictor variables found in table 36 to be significantly associated with *intimate partner perpetrator* were entered into the initial model (forced entry). Variables with very high proportions of missing data were removed from the initial model, and variables

found to be non-significant were removed from subsequent models. Table 39 presents the results of final model (see Appendix D for model development).

The final model for the Insights dataset, shown in table 39, contained 1128 valid cases and eight variables. The model chi-square (482.564) was significant ($p < 0.001$), showing that the model was significantly better at predicting whether a case involved an intimate partner perpetrator, compared to the base model with no predictor variables included. It correctly predicted 84.9% of cases. A Nagelkerke R^2 value of .502 showed that the model explained 50.2% of unexplained variance. Checks were run for multi-collinearity and outlying cases: none were found (see Appendix D).

As with the other regression analyses, the purpose of using regression was not primarily to find a single overall model to predict the outcome variable; it was rather to test whether individual variables continued to have a significant effect on the outcome variable *intimate partner perpetrator* when holding all the other variables steady. In the final model for the Insights data (table 39), the variables *primary perpetrator gender*, *physical abuse* and *charge* were found to be no longer significant when holding the other variables steady. The primary perpetrator gender may have become non-significant when controlling for multiple perpetrators (since there was overlap between these two characteristics). Whilst in the police/S01/S02 dataset, the variable *multiple perpetrators* became non-significant and *female perpetrator included* remained significant; the variable for perpetrator gender is measured differently in both datasets (a wider interpretation in the police/S01/S02 data) and it may be that this explains why the interaction of these two variables have produced slightly different results in the two datasets. The reason that physical abuse became non-significant is unclear, but it is in keeping with the results from regression on the same dependent variable with the police/S01/S02 dataset. Here (unlike in that dataset) sexual abuse remained significantly associated, however. It is also not clear why charge might become non-significant; although, this may reflect the smaller number of cases for which charge data were available.

Table 39 shows that the variables *victim age*, *victim gender*, *victim ethnicity*, *immigration status*, *multiple perpetrators*, *sexual abuse*, *forced marriage* and *risk level* were all confirmed to remain significant when holding the other variables steady, confirming their strong associations with the variable *intimate partner perpetrator*.

Table 39: Binomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome variable (no) *intimate partner perpetrator* (Insights dataset)

		<i>Final model (n=1128)</i>			
Coefficients		B (SE)	Wald	Exp(B)	95% CI (low-high)
	Constant	-1.554 (.345)	20.326	.211	-
Victim age	<25 yrs	1.854 (.197)	88.793***	6.386	4.343-9.392
	25 yrs or over (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Victim gender	Male	1.023 (.445)	5.277*	2.782	1.162-6.658
	Female (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Victim ethnicity	Not South Asian	-.488 (.193)	6.365*	.614	.420-.897
	South Asian (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Victim immigration status	Recourse to public funds	.652 (.230)	8.020**	1.920	1.222-3.015
	No recourse to public funds (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Multiple perpetrators	Single perpetrator	-1.629 (.193)	71.296***	.196	.134-.286
	Multiple perpetrators (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Sexual abuse	No	1.898 (.251)	57.103***	6.669	4.077-10.910
	Yes (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Forced marriage	No FM	-1.267 (.186)	46.657***	.282	.196-.405
	FM (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Risk	Non High Risk	-.654 (.345)	13.016***	.520	.364-.742
	High Risk (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Model Chi Square (df)	482.564 (8)***				
-2LL	851.648				
Nagelkerke R₂	.502				
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001					

Reference category is: intimate partner perpetrator involved

Table 40: Binomial regression model for *intimate partner perpetrator* (Insights dataset)–prediction of variance

	Percent Correct
Is (ex) IP a perp? Yes	93.2%
No	59.6%
Overall Percentage	83.9%

The Exp(B) value alongside the Wald statistic indicates the individual contribution of each predictor variable in the model, with other variables held steady. Table 39 shows that victims under 25 yrs old were very significantly more likely to have a non-intimate partner perpetrator; so, those over 25 were more likely to involve an intimate partner perpetrator. Cases which did not involve forced marriage were significantly less likely to involve a non-intimate partner; so, forced marriage was more likely in cases where the perpetrator was not an intimate partner. This mirrors the findings in the police/S01/S02 dataset. The associations of both these variables mirror those found in the police/S01/S02 dataset. Of the three variables entered into the final models for both datasets, these were the two which had significant associations in both.

Those additional variables found to have significant associations in the Insights dataset (compared with the police/S01/S02 dataset) were as follows. Male victims were significantly more likely to have a non-intimate partner perpetrator (thus, females more likely an intimate partner perpetrator). South Asian victims were significantly more likely to have a non-intimate partner perpetrator (thus non-South Asian victims an intimate partner). Victims with secure immigration status were significantly more likely to have a non-intimate partner (thus victims with No Recourse to Public Funds more likely an intimate partner perpetrator). Where an intimate partner was involved, it was significantly more likely that they would be a single perpetrator, rather than acting with others (thus where the perpetrator was someone other than an intimate partner, they were much more likely to be acting with others.) Cases involving a non-intimate partner were significantly more likely not to involve sexual abuse (thus an intimate partner perpetrator was more likely to involve sexual abuse—a logical connection). Cases which did not involve an intimate partner perpetrator were significantly less likely to be non-high risk; in other words, they were more likely to be considered high risk. This is perhaps unexpected, seeing as Model 1 found higher risk to be associated with *Type I* compared with *Type II*.

Summary: involvement of intimate partner perpetrator

Model 2 looked at which variables most significantly predicted whether a case would involve an intimate partner as perpetrator or not, for both datasets. A summary of those variables found to be significant predictors in either or both is given in table 41.

Table 41: Summary of findings: associations of key variables with *intimate partner perpetrator* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

	Intimate partner involved	Family member(s) only
Victims	<p>Older victims (25 yrs+) significantly more likely (both datasets)</p> <p>Female victims significantly more likely (Insights)</p> <p>Non-South Asian victims significantly more likely (Insights)</p> <p>Victims significantly more likely to have no recourse to public funds (Insights)</p>	<p>Younger victims (under 25 yrs) significantly more likely (both datasets)</p> <p>Male victims significantly more likely family perpetrator than intimate partner (Insights)</p> <p>South Asian victims significantly more likely (Insights)</p> <p>Victims significantly less likely to have insecure immigration status (Insights)</p>
Perpetrators	<p>Intimate partner perpetrator significantly more likely to be acting alone (Insights)</p> <p>Intimate partner perpetrator significantly less likely to involve a female perpetrator in any role (police/S01/S02)</p>	<p>Family member perpetrator significantly more likely to involve other (multiple) perpetrators (Insights)</p> <p>Family member perpetrator significantly more likely to include a female perpetrator in any role (police/S01/S02)</p>
Abuse profile	<p>Intimate partner perpetrator significantly more likely to involve sexual violence/abuse (Insights)</p> <p>Intimate partner perpetrator significantly less likely to involve forced marriage (in the past or current risk/threat) (both datasets)</p> <p>Intimate partner perpetrator significantly less likely to be judged high risk (Insights)</p>	<p>Significantly less likely to involve sexual violence/abuse (Insights)</p> <p>Family member perpetrator significantly more likely to involve forced marriage (in the past or current risk/threat) (both datasets)</p> <p>Family member perpetrator significantly more likely to be judged high risk (Insights)</p>

Model 3: Forced marriage–overlap with honour-based abuse

Introduction

Drawing on the literature, which shows a sizeable overlap between forced marriage and honour-based abuse but with little empirical quantitative evidence exploring that overlap, research question 2 concerned the extent to which forced marriage was similar to, or different from, honour-based abuse. Across all the datasets in this study, only 25% of cases involving a forced marriage occurred without a context of honour-based abuse; the other 75% occurred in an honour context. So, overall, most cases involving a forced marriage occurred in the context of a wider pattern of honour-related abuse. Less than 10% of all the cases in the sample involved a forced marriage outside an honour context.

Table 42 shows all the variables found to be significantly associated with *forced marriage* in both the police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets, using Pearson’s chi-square statistic. Since the police/S01/S02 dataset only contained three variables significantly associated with forced marriage, two of which were also significant in the Insights dataset, and the third (*site*) was a problematic factor which did not exist in Insights, binomial logistic regression was run using the Insights dataset only.

Table 42: Pearson’s chi-square associations of victim, perpetrator and abuse variables with *forced marriage* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

Variable	Categories	Police/S01/S02 (n=162) Chi-square	Insights (n=1312) Chi-square
Data collection site	Police S01 S02	12.827**	Variable doesn’t exist
Victim age	<25 yrs 25 yrs +	24.738***	137.877***
Victim gender	Includes male victim Includes female victim	.290	.270
Victim ethnicity	South Asian Non South Asian	.365	1.556
Victim sexual orientation	LGBT Heterosexual	Test not valid	Test not valid
Victim immigration status	No recourse to public funds Recourse to public funds	2.617	9.067**
Victim religion	Muslim Not Muslim	.071	Variable doesn’t exist

Multiple perpetrators	Multiple Single	3.816	53.924***
Primary perpetrator gender	Male Female	3.678	12.223***
Female perpetrator involved	Yes No	1.646	Variable doesn't exist
Intimate partner perpetrator	Yes No	25.313***	193.355***
Coercive control/ emotional abuse	Yes No	Test not valid	1.429
Harassment/ stalking	Yes No	3.275	.087
Physical abuse	Yes No	.013	6.271*
Sexual abuse	Yes No	.020	10.756**
Threats to kill	Yes No	.044	Variable doesn't exist
Risk	High risk (10+) Non high risk (<10)	Variable doesn't exist	3.450
MARAC threshold	Yes No	Variable doesn't exist	.263
Known to police	Yes No	Test not valid	Variable doesn't exist
Crime associated	Yes No	.025	Variable doesn't exist
Charge	Charge Caution No Further Action (NFA)	Test not valid	.271
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001			

Results–Insights dataset

All seven variables in the Insights dataset found to be significantly associated with *forced marriage* in the chi-square analysis in table 42 were entered in the initial regression model (forced entry). Because including all seven variables very considerably reduced the number of valid cases in the model, variables with very high proportions of missing data were removed from the initial model, and variables found to be non-significant were removed from subsequent models. Table 43 presents the results of final model (see Appendix D for model development).

Table 43: Binomial logistic regression–final model predicting to outcome variable *forced marriage* (Insights dataset)

		<i>Final model (n=1261)</i>			
Coefficients		B (SE)	Wald	Exp(B)	95% CI (low-high)
	Constant	-1.566 (.122)	164.392	.209	-
Victim age	<25 yrs	1.016 (.158)	41.188***	2.762	2.025-3.768
	25 yrs or over (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Intimate partner perpetrator	Family member perpetrator	1.328 (.159)	70.087***	3.772	2.765-5.148
	Current or ex intimate partner (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Multiple perpetrators	Single perpetrator	-.462 (.153)	9.056**	.630	.466-.851
	Multiple perpetrators (Ref)	-	-	-	-
Model Chi Square (df)	227.950 (3)***				
-2LL	1240.096				
Nagelkerke R ₂	.240				
* significant at p<0.05 ** significant at p<0.01 *** significant at p<0.001					

Reference category is *No forced marriage*

Table 44: Binomial regression model for *forced marriage* (Insights dataset)–prediction of variance

	Percent Correct
Is there forced marriage? Yes	36.6%
No	93.7%
Overall Percentage	78.4%

The final model shown in table 43 contained 1,261 valid cases, and three variables. ‘No forced marriage’ was selected as the reference category for the dependent variable because the model was interested in comparing which variables were associated with a forced marriage occurring, compared with it not occurring. The model chi-square (227.950) was significant (p<0.001), showing that the model was significantly better at predicting whether or not a case involved forced marriage, compared to the base model with no predictor variables included. It correctly predicted 78.4% of cases (93.7% to non-forced marriage and only 36.6% to forced marriage). A Nagelkerke R₂ value of .240 showed that the model explained 24% of

unexplained variance. Checks were run for multi-collinearity and outlying cases: none were found.

As with the other regression analyses, the purpose of using regression was not primarily to find a single overall model to predict the outcome variable; it was rather to test whether individual variables continued to have a significant effect on the outcome variable *forced marriage* when holding all the other variables steady. In the final model (see table 43), the variables *sexual abuse*, *physical abuse*, *no recourse to public funds* and *perpetrator gender* were found to be no longer significant when holding the other variables steady. However, *victim age*, *intimate partner perpetrator*, and *multiple perpetrators* were all confirmed to remain significant when holding the other variables steady.

The Exp(B) value alongside the Wald statistic indicates the individual contribution of each predictor variable in the model. All variables were observed to have significant predictive power. Table 43 shows that cases with victims under 25 yrs old were significantly more likely to involve a forced marriage. Those with family member perpetrators (rather than an intimate partner) were significantly more likely to involve a forced marriage, and multiple perpetrators were significantly more associated with forced marriage cases than other cases.

It is interesting that, when controlling for other variables, the association of forced marriage cases with (less) physical and (less) sexual abuse became non-significant. One possibility is that the significance of these variables was actually reflecting the involvement of an intimate partner perpetrator—a variable which we saw from Model 2 to be significantly linked with sexual abuse at least. Therefore, when entered in a model together with intimate partner perpetrator variable, these other variables became non-significant. Similarly, the intimate partner perpetrator variable may well explain the fact that having a (female) primary perpetrator also became non-significant in the regression model: again, it may be that the primary link was between having a family member (not intimate partner) perpetrator and forced marriage, and the female perpetrator was associated with being a family member rather than intimate partner. Having a secure immigration status (i.e. not having NRPF) also became non-significant in this model. Possible reasons for this are less clear.

Summary: forced marriage

Model 3 looked at which variables most significantly predicted whether a case would involve forced marriage or not. A summary of those variables confirmed to be significant predictors in the regression analysis is given in table 45.

Table 45: Summary of findings: regression-tested associations of key variables with *forced marriage* (Police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets)

	Forced marriage	No forced marriage
Victims	Younger victims (under 25 yrs) significantly more likely in forced marriage compared with non- forced marriage cases	Older victims (25+ yrs) more likely
Perpetrators	Family member perpetrator cases significantly more likely to involve/have involved a forced marriage Multiple perpetrators significantly more likely in forced marriage cases	Non-forced marriage cases more likely to involve an intimate partner perpetrator Non-forced marriage cases more likely to involve a single perpetrator

Chapter conclusion

This chapter has done three things: (1) confirmed the existence of three distinct types of honour-based abuse (amongst cases known to the police and victims' NGOs); (2) shown that certain characteristics are significantly associated with the different types, and can be used in combinations to predict type; and (3) shown that certain case characteristics are significantly associated with forced marriage.

Building on the three case types identified through the descriptive analysis in chapters 6 and 7, this chapter has used quantitative analysis to confirm the existence of the three types of case (proof of concept). First, by creating a variable for *type* in Insights, it has been clearly demonstrated that these three types also exist in that dataset, with substantial numbers of cases falling into each of the three types. Second, the percentages breakdown of each type in both the police/S01/S02 and Insights datasets (which are distinct datasets) are very similar to

each other, and roughly an even three-way split in both. It can therefore be concluded that the three types robustly exist and are replicable in different datasets.

Descriptive statistics showed that *Type II: Family abuse* was most distinct. This type was most likely to involve younger victims, under 25 yrs old, more likely to have male victims than the other types, but victims were less likely to have vulnerable immigration status. *Type II* was more likely to involve natal family members, and a female perpetrator (though usually in a secondary role), especially the victim's own mother. These cases were deemed lower risk but as likely to go to MARAC. They were least likely to have a crime associated with the case, involve an arrest or charge and most likely to have no further action taken by the police. By contrast, *Type I: Partner only* was most likely to involve White ethnicity victims and most likely to involve physical and sexual abuse; this type was most likely to be associated with a crime. *Type III: Partner plus family* was most likely to involve immigration-vulnerable victims (No Recourse to Public Funds), more likely to involve in-laws as perpetrators, often involved a female perpetrator as a secondary perpetrator, who was most commonly the mother-in-law. *Type III* was most likely to involve threats to kill and had the highest number of different forms of abuse.

Regression analysis on the Insights dataset tested to what extent the associations identified in the descriptive statistics persisted when controlling for other variables. The variables found to be the strongest predictors to *type* were: *victim age*, *victim gender*, *victim ethnicity*, *victim immigration status*, *sexual abuse*, *forced marriage* and *risk*. Together these variables correctly predicted 59% of cases to *type*; though the model was better at predicting to *Type I* and *Type II* than *Type III*, where only 37.5% were correctly predicted.

Cases were further explored by splitting them into two groups, based on whether an intimate partner was involved as a perpetrator (i.e. *Type I* and *Type III* were combined). This did not replace the three types, which stand as distinct to one another, but this analysis was run to check that a good deal of difference between types seemed to relate to the question of whether an intimate partner was involved. When split into these two groups, regression modelling on both datasets showed the following nine variables to remain significant predictors across one or both datasets, when all other variables were controlled: *victim age*, *victim gender*, *victim ethnicity*, *victim immigration status*, *multiple perpetrators*, *involvement*

of a female perpetrator, sexual abuse, forced marriage and risk. It can be observed that seven of these mirror those found to be significant predictors to the three types, with the addition of *multiple perpetrators* and *involvement of a female perpetrator* (neither of which could be tested in the regression analysis of *type*, because they did not exist in the Insights dataset).

Forced marriage (whether it had already taken place, or was threatened) was found in this study to occur in 28% of all the cases of honour-based abuse. Half of the cases related to an already contracted or attempted marriage (48%) and half to a threat or risk that the victim would be forced to marry (52%). Where a forced marriage was associated with a case, 75% was in the context of honour-based abuse, and 25% was not. Descriptive statistics showed seven variables to be significantly associated with forced marriage: *victim age*, *victim immigration status*, *primary perpetrator gender*, *multiple perpetrators*, *intimate partner perpetrator*, *physical abuse*, and *sexual abuse*. Of these, regression analysis on the Insights dataset showed the following three variables to remain significant predictors, when all other variables were controlled: *victim age*, *intimate partner perpetrator*, and *multiple perpetrators*. Taken together, these variables correctly predicted 78.4% of cases.

Chapter 9: Discussion and conclusion

Introduction

This study set out to investigate the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales. The aim was to advance new empirical data on who was involved (victims and perpetrators), and what forms the abuse took. In examining the people, acts and relationships involved in this abuse, the research drew on an approach set out by Hester (2013b), asking “who does what to whom?”.

The research questions were (within the context of cases reported to the police and victims’ NGOs):

1. What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve?
2. How does forced marriage relate to honour-based abuse?
3. Should honour-based abuse be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse?
4. What are the implications for national policy and definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage?

This chapter addresses the research questions by applying prior knowledge (reviewed in chapters 2 to 4) to the empirical findings from this study (set out in chapters 6 to 8). It draws on theories and arguments about definitions of honour-based abuse outlined in chapter 2. The three research questions are addressed in turn, before a summary is made of the contribution of this study to the field and of its limitations, and a final conclusion drawn.

The overarching thesis is that there are three different types of honour-based abuse which this study has identified, based on the number of perpetrators and their relationship(s) to the victim:

Type I: Partner abuse (Two sub-types: (*Type Ia*) Partner abuse only; (*Type Ib*) Partner abuse with honour control)

Type II: Family abuse

Type III: Partner plus family abuse

These three types are both specifically similar to, and specifically different from, other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse. I describe this argument as one of ‘commonality and difference’. I argue that honour-based abuse is first and foremost a gendered abuse and should be seen in the same frame as other forms of gender-based violence. Within that, it has features in common with other forms of domestic and intimate partner violence, but also elements which are distinct and specific. These commonalities and specificities are more pronounced when considering each of the three types of honour-based abuse which I propose.

Research question 1: What is the nature and profile of honour-based abuse in England and Wales: who are the perpetrator(s) and the victim(s), and what acts or behaviours does it involve?

Victim gender

Previous research has shown that victims are predominantly female (HMIC, 2015), but that there are male victims too (Samad, 2010). Estimates of the proportion of male victims vary from around 4% (Kazimirski *et al*, 2009) to 26% (CPS, 2016). This study found strong evidence of honour-based abuse as gendered. Over 90% of victims were female—a higher rate than has been reported before (HMIC, 2015; FCO, 2016). Some 4% of cases involved a male victim—but this rose to almost 1 in 5 (19%) in the police dataset, suggesting perhaps that male victims are more visible to the police than to victims’ services. Regression analysis showed that female victims in this study were significantly more likely than men to be experiencing abuse primarily from an intimate partner (with or without other perpetrators). Male victims were significantly more likely to experience *Type II* honour-based abuse than they were the other two types.

The literature identifies varying triggers or justifications offered for perpetration of these abuses against women and men. Government guidance on forced marriage states that both genders can be victims to prevent relationships deemed ‘unsuitable’ by family members, and as a means of controlling unwanted sexuality, which might include LGBT relationships, but

particularly relates to the sexual behavior of women (HMG, 2014a). Females are more at risk if they have experienced sexual abuse, and they are more at risk of sexual and domestic violence within a forced marriage, as well as forced withdrawal from education or work, domestic servitude by the husband's extended family and virtual 'house arrest' by their own family or their in-laws. Leaving the relationship is also seen as particularly dishonourable for women (HMG, 2014a). As well as for the purpose of controlling sexuality or relationships deemed 'unsuitable', the literature shows that men experience forced marriage in particular circumstances—including when they are disabled (and are deemed to require a carer) or have mental health issues, or for immigration purposes (e.g. Samad, 2010; Hester *et al*, 2008).

The findings of this study offer support for the triggers/justifications previously identified in literature for both female and male victims. For females, there is evidence of sexual orientation being a trigger for abuse—though this seems to relate to 'punishment' for women being lesbian, more than to triggering a forced marriage. For men, there is stronger evidence of use of forced marriage as a way of 'correcting' gay sexual orientation. There is clear evidence of females being abused or forced to marry where their family members disapprove of their own choice of partner—for many female victims, this relates to their choice of a white male partner. There is evidence for both females and males being forced to marry for family commitments or visa purposes, and to care for disabled relatives, and for females becoming victims of virtual house arrest through domestic servitude to their wider in-law family.

Two new elements emerge from this analysis, relating to the point at which a victim leaves an intimate partner relationship. One, there is a group of female victims who are being abused by their intimate partner only, at or just after the point of separation. This looks like 'mainstream' domestic intimate partner abuse and there is no explicit element of honour identifiable in the case files. Two, the experience of abuse at the point of separation differs based on the victim's gender. There are male victims who are being abused by their in-laws in retaliation for the shame of leaving their female partner; and there are female victims being abused by their in-laws because they perceive them to be inferior in class or status. These are the same pattern of relationship of perpetrator(s) to victim, but the motivations are clearly different depending on the victim gender. The literature does identify leaving a relationship as dishonourable, but this complexity of roles in relation to this seems to be new.

Victim ethnicity

The literature finds as many as 15 or 20 different countries of origin associated with honour-based abuse and forced marriage in this country (FCO, 2016; Hester *et al*, 2015), but Pakistan to be associated with the most (FCO, 2016). There is also evidence of White ethnicity victims of honour-based abuse and forced marriage (Hester *et al*, 2008) and of honour-based abuse occurring in White British communities (Brandon and Hafez, 2008).

Despite needing caution in interpreting ethnicity—which in these datasets are certainly in part reflecting the local demographics of the samples—analysis of ethnicity is informative in three main ways. First, it tests whether the communities where honour-based abuse is thought to occur in this country are indeed those reflected in the data; second, it may identify assumptions of front-line professionals involved in identifying honour-based abuse; and third, it may uncover these abuses amongst ethnic groups previously not associated with them.

In this study, most victims (64%) were of South Asian ethnicity—and, in particular, Pakistani (25%) or Indian (10%) heritage. But the cases involved 13 different linked countries of origin. Both these elements confirm the known links from the literature. Regression modelling showed that South Asian victims were significantly more likely to fall within *Types II* and *III* compared with *Type I*. South Asian victims were also significantly associated with non-intimate partner perpetrators: compared with victims not of South Asian ethnicity, they were more likely to be abused by family members only, whereas non-South Asian victims were more likely to experience abuse from an intimate partner (with or without others).

Other ethnic groups in the literature—in particular Middle Eastern and Arab—were less evident in these datasets: accounting for only 6% across the police, S01 and S02 data and less than 2% in Insights. Recent studies (Begikhani *et al*, 2015; Payton, 2014) have demonstrated that honour-based abuse does occur within these communities in this country, especially in Kurdish communities. So it is puzzling that these are so little represented. There are several possible reasons: is it that the scale of honour-based abuse amongst these communities in this country is actually very small? Or perhaps it is very localized (e.g. to particular parts of the country such as London) and therefore not picked up in these samples which do not cover

those areas; or victims perhaps either do not seek help at all, or seek help from different agencies (other than police and domestic abuse services)?

In terms of the strong representation of South Asian victims in this study, it is relevant that two of the three data collection sites were located in the top five areas in the country for Asian populations (ONS, 2011). Additionally, they were both areas which had the highest recorded levels of reporting honour-based abuse (Karma Nirvana, 2008). As such, the samples from S01 and S02 were likely to feature these ethnicities. However, this is clearly not the whole story, since the Insights and police data (both including areas with lower South Asian populations) also heavily featured South Asian ethnicity victims—and in fact the police site was situated in the region of the country with the lowest Asian population (ONS, 2011).

One possibility is that the strong association in literature, the public mind and in policy of these practices with South Asian communities has influenced practitioners, who are in turn using ethnicity (particularly South Asian ethnicity) as a proxy for honour-based abuse; perhaps in turn also missing its occurrence in other communities. This possibility has been highlighted by the Forced Marriage Unit which has warned against associating forced marriage solely with South Asian communities (FCO, 2016). It is also the case that South Asian women's groups in this country are longer established, well-organised and articulate (Chantler *et al*, 2009)—this may account for their being more visible to both the public and professionals.

An unexpected ethnicity link was found: 1 in 5 victims in the Insights dataset were White. An exploration of these cases found that almost three-quarters were flagged as honour-based abuse only and one-third forced marriage only, they were less likely to have multiple perpetrators (less than a quarter), and in almost all of them (90%) the perpetrator was a current or ex intimate partner. What might account for these cases being labelled as honour-based abuse rather than domestic abuse?

Brandon and Hafez found that ideas that family members should physically punish female relatives who damage their family's honour are also found in some White British communities. They cite interviews with specialist women's groups: "If an honour killing in these [white] communities occurs it is usually referred to as a 'crime of passion'. But underneath this, the basic drivers such as pride and honour are still the same even if the

motives are different” (Brandon and Hafez, 2008, p.38). Whilst the existence of White victims of honour-based abuse has precedent, the fact that this sizeable group in this dataset is clearly identified as White and British/Irish (distinct from, say, Eastern European or Irish Traveller) is unusual. It may challenge the notion that forced marriage and honour-based abuse are closely linked in many cases with trafficking or immigration.

One possibility might be that the Insights dataset is capturing the partners of individuals from other ethnic groups who are themselves at risk from their families—with their partners becoming victims by association (e.g. a White British boyfriend of a British Asian girl). Such cases are seen in the literature (e.g. the story of Jack and Zena: Briggs and Briggs, 1997). However, the cases in this study are all drawn from services conducting one-to-one casework with (mainly high risk) victims and they are overwhelmingly female. If this explanation were correct we would expect to see the perpetrator/s of the abuse listed as Other or Associate (or possibly Family member). That the primary perpetrator in the great majority of these cases is the current or ex intimate partner, and that three quarters have only a single perpetrator, suggests that this interpretation does not explain most cases.

Another possibility is a mis-attribution by the caseworkers completing the Insights questionnaires of domestic abuse as honour-based abuse. Whilst the literature suggests that this eliding of different experiences does occur with South Asian victims (Siddiqui, 2014), this tends to happen because those ethnicities are associated in the literature with honour-based abuse, whereas White ethnicities are not. Another possibility is that the White British group has been used as a default where caseworkers do not know a client’s ethnicity. However, there are four options which could be used in such cases in the Insights questionnaire: ‘Any other white’, ‘Any other ethnic background’, ‘Don’t Know’ or ‘Not Disclosed’. In addition, the data completion is very high for this dataset—only a very small percentage of cases do not have an ethnicity identified. This rather suggests that all these cases have been positively identified by a caseworker as White British/Irish (rather than ethnicity omitted or not disclosed).

Descriptive profiling of the 15 cases with White victims in the police, S01 and S02 datasets (which could not be done with the pre-coded Insights data) found that most of the cases fell into *Type I*, with a few cases in *Type III*. All the White victims were female and three-quarters

involved a BME perpetrator (at least 8 different ethnicities) who was the victim's current or ex intimate partner (with or without their family members). Dual ethnicity within a couple seemed to relate to abuse in two distinct ways:

- First, BME women with White male partners were subject to abuse from their own families (often triggered by disapproval of this relationship, and often involving an attempt at forcing them to marry someone else)—these fit with *Type II*.
- Second, White women with BME male partners were subject to abuse from their partner and/or their in-laws (where in-laws are involved, seemingly related to their disapproval of this relationship)—these fit with *Type I* and *Type III*.

What is striking about both aspects is that the family members conducting the abuse were BME, and irrespective of whether it was the BME female's family or the BME male's family, the victims in this configuration were always women. It raises the possibility that some intimate partner abuse cases involving a BME perpetrator and White victim are being classified as honour-based abuse on the basis of the perpetrator's ethnicity. In the same way, cases where both victim and perpetrator were BME may be being classified as honour-based on the basis of ethnicity.

Victim age

Victims of forced marriage have been shown to range from under 16yrs to over 41yrs (FCO, 2016), but it is particularly associated with those under 25 yrs (FCO, 2016; Kazimirski *et al* 2009). Victims of honour-based abuse are less well profiled, but there is some evidence that they are less likely to be under 25yrs (e.g. Dyer, 2015).

These findings show that victims of both honour-based abuse and forced marriage ranged from their teens to over 50yrs old. Most were aged 18 to 44yrs, with the largest single age bracket being 25 to 34 yrs. This work presents strong evidence in support of forced marriage victims being younger, and identifies age 25 as a key dividing age. Two-thirds (63%) of forced marriage victims were under 25yrs compared with only a quarter (26%) of the (non-forced marriage) victims. Victims aged under 25yrs were significantly more likely to experience Type II abuse; and significantly more likely to involve an attempted or threatened forced marriage.

Being under 25yrs was also a significant predictor that the victim would have a non-intimate partner perpetrator.

By contrast, the findings show that non-forced marriage cases have a slightly older age profile. More victims are aged in their 20s and 30s, and some are older. This older victim age profile is more linked with intimate partner perpetrators, and with victims more likely to be foreign nationals. Those aged 35 to 44yrs were most likely to be associated with *Type I* abuse, as were those aged 45 and older. So, we see that these older age groups are more likely to be experiencing abuse from an intimate partner.

This study has broadly confirmed the age profile in literature of forced marriage victims, adding new statistically robust evidence for age 25yrs being a key dividing line. It has added new data profiling the age of victims of honour-based abuse where a forced marriage is not involved (again statistically tested). It has shown that these victims have an older age profile than forced marriage victims, and are more associated with *Types I* and *III*, especially the involvement of an intimate partner perpetrator.

Victim sexual orientation

LGBT orientations are identified in literature as a trigger for honour-based abuse and forced marriage (e.g. Hester *et al*, 2008). However, existing data show both honour-based abuse and forced marriage principally to involve heterosexual victims. Identification of LGBT victims in previous empirical data is low (2% of forced marriage cases (FCO, 2016) and 2% of honour-based abuse cases (SafeLives, 2015)). However, this may be anticipated, since LGBT communities do not tend to use police and victims' NGOs due to concerns around homophobia (Donovan and Hester, 2014).

The findings in this study confirm, in line with existing empirical data and the literature, that the proportion of cases with LGBT victims known to police and victims' NGOs is low (1% compared with 93% in 'heterosexual' relationships overall). Whilst the Insights dataset measures LGBT together as a single group, the police/S01/S02 dataset allows a breakdown, and in fact only contains cases involving lesbians and gay men (no bisexual or transgender individuals). In these latter cases, the victims' sexual orientation is a trigger for abuse, and

this is supported by the literature. The cases involving LGBT victims across all datasets were more likely to involve family member perpetrators than intimate partners.

When compared to the 'heterosexual' cases it could be argued that family disapproval of the victim's choice of partner and/or the victim's rejection of the family's choices are common for all victims, regardless of sexual orientation. 'Heterosexual' cases included a group of *Type III* cases where abuse was from the intimate partner plus in-laws, many relating to domestic servitude or isolation and control of female victims living with multiple in-laws. Across the cases involving lesbian women, gay men and 'heterosexual' victims there was evidence of cases where abuse was only from an intimate partner—*Type I*. However, whilst there was commonality between the 'heterosexual' and lesbian/gay victims in relation to their rejection of the family's preferred match, the consequences for the lesbian/gay victims were more extensive: there was a wider context of homophobia, and these victims were likely never going to be able to pick the 'right' or an acceptable partner in their family's eyes. Their lesbian/gay orientation also implied a set of wider departures from family/community norms and gender roles, beyond just choice of a particular partner—for example, they were likely to be perceived as not engendering children (at least, in an accepted context), and unable to fulfil other traditional gender roles such as wives living with their extended in-law family.

Victim immigration status/nationality

Literature identifies immigrant spouses as victims of honour-based abuse (e.g. Dyer, 2015—all identified 'honour killings' over a 5-year period in UK were of non-UK born nationals). Siddiqui (2014) identifies migrant spouses at risk of a range of domestic violence as particularly vulnerable due to their status of No Recourse to Public Funds. By contrast, forced marriage victims are commonly British nationals. For example, Hester *et al* (2008) found 58% were British citizens, and Kazimirski *et al* (2009) that 85% were.

Honour-based abuse, especially forced marriage, has been framed both as a 'problem of immigration' (i.e. practices imported from elsewhere by immigrants—Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010) and as a product of the immigrant experience (i.e. migrant communities cleaving to more conservative values than the country of origin; Gangoli *et al*, 2006). The review of government responses in Chapter 4 showed that immigration policy has been repeatedly

used to challenge forced marriages where there is a perceived international element to the marriage.

This study finds that victims are nationals of over 20 different countries. Some 20% had No Recourse to Public Funds. By implication, that around 80% of victims did not have vulnerable immigration status shows that honour-based abuse and forced marriage are not primarily an 'immigrant issue', in that more victims are British nationals or residents than they are recent or temporary immigrants. This poses a challenge to policy responses that focus on immigration controls. However, there is also evidence in this study of migration as one of several motivations for abuse (especially for forced marriage), and quite a few cases involve an overseas link.

Type II cases (which were more likely to involve forced marriage) were more likely to involve British Asian victims. Whilst victims were British nationals, these marriages seem often to have an international link and a purpose to maintain commitments to family or communities overseas. This fits with the profile in literature of forced marriage victims being often British, and of the purpose of the marriage sometimes being to obtain visas for relatives abroad (e.g. HMG, 2014a). These cases were much more likely to involve natal family perpetrators, especially parents, brothers and uncles.

By contrast, non-British nationals (those with No Recourse to Public funds) were statistically significantly more likely to be in *Type III*. This was abuse from an intimate partner, and often involved physical and sexual violence from the partner plus control and verbal abuse from in-laws (often orchestrated by the mother-in-law). Regression analysis found having No Recourse to Public Funds to be a significant predictor of both *Type III* and of an intimate partner perpetrator being involved.

It may be that forced marriages of foreign nationals are under-represented in these cases for two reasons. First, different understandings amongst victims from different cultures or nationalities about what constitutes a 'forced marriage' (e.g. increased awareness in this country amongst younger British Asian girls about what is societally and legally acceptable and about their rights and choices); and second, professionals and agencies may define some marriages as forced (e.g. British girls) and others as not forced (e.g. immigrant spouses).

Previous literature has examined both these elements and described how some immigrant spouses may not recognise their marriages as ‘forced’ due to different understandings of consent and choice (e.g. Hester *et al*, 2008; Chantler *et al*, 2009).

The findings confirm the picture in literature of forced marriage victims being predominantly British, with some cases having an overseas link. They add weight to the picture of a separate category of honour-based abuse victims who are immigrants, often with insecure immigration status, similar to the group identified by Siddiqui (2014). Given that this group are much more likely to be experiencing abuse from their intimate partner, one question is whether they should be seen as honour-based abuse, or as similar to other cases of domestic abuse. On the other hand, there is a possibility that they do also involve forced marriages, but that these marriages have been contracted in the past and are not conceptualised (by the victim and/or by professionals) as having been forced. Hester *et al* (2008) have argued that a re-conceptualisation of forced marriage in national policy is required, to expand the notion to include exiting as well as entering such marriages, and these cases offer support for this argument.

Perpetrator gender

Literature shows that perpetrators are commonly male (HMIC, 2015). Both theoretical discussions (e.g. Sen, 2005) and empirical work (e.g. Dyer, 2015; CPS, 2016) identify the involvement in some role of female perpetrators as a key feature of honour-based abuse, especially compared with other forms of gendered violence. This study found that perpetration was heavily gendered, with 48% of cases involving a primary male perpetrator (92% of cases where gender was known), and only 4% involving a primary female perpetrator (8% of cases where gender was known). Regression showed that a male primary perpetrator was a statistically significant predictor that a case would involve intimate partner violence; whereas involvement of a female perpetrator in any role was statistically more linked with *Type II* and meant the case was significantly less likely to involve intimate partner violence.

The study also found evidence of female perpetrators. These were most often a mother or mother-in-law, but there was also evidence of aunts, sisters, aunts-in-law or sisters-in-law— which shows the involvement of wider family. Females were most often involved in addition

to male perpetrators (rather than on their own), and the extent of their roles is hard to explore in detail from the data available. One case (P063—see table 5) illustrated the shifting roles mothers in particular may play: this Kurdish girl's mother moved from being seen as a perpetrator (along with her father) to being a protective figure as the case developed.

Where a female was the primary perpetrator, this was most commonly the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law (*Type III*), or (less often) a mother acting against her daughter (*Type II*), and (least often) a female intimate partner against her current or ex male or female partner (*Type I*). It was observed that cases involving female intimate partners against their male current or ex-partner seemed to be less severe in nature than their male-to-female intimate partner counterparts in *Type I*, or they involved counter-allegations of abuse. The literature supports this finding as typical of the gendered (male to female) nature of intimate partner violence (Hester, 2013b).

The involvement of female perpetrators was statistically significantly associated with type, with involvement of a female perpetrator much more likely in *Types II* and *III*. It was also significantly associated with younger victims (under 25yrs), South Asian victims and multiple perpetrators, and less associated with a case progressing in the criminal justice system (all of which features themselves link to *Type II*).

These data on perpetrator gender support the literature in finding primarily male perpetrators, but also certain roles taken by female perpetrators. This can be interpreted as both having commonality with other forms of gendered violence, and having specific features of difference (the role of women in perpetrating). Whilst this work has not investigated in-depth the motivations or agency of females in perpetrating, it does show three things. First, evidence that female perpetrators are no single, homogenous group. As Elden (2011) has argued, women abusers play different roles in these cases—and these roles may point to as-yet not well understood different internal power relations within families. There is some evidence of female solidarity and advocacy on behalf of the victim, as well as of females actively acting against the victim. Taken together, this points to a potential danger of 'essentialising' the multiple roles that females may play in perpetrating abuse—with the same risks that others (e.g. Gill and Mitra-Kahn, 2010) have identified in viewing all BME abuse as essentially the same. It supports an intersectional argument that 'women perpetrators'

should be seen as not a single group, but multiple individual actors on which operate different influences (Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1992). Second, in some of these cases women do seem to collude or acquiesce to abuse of their natal family members (e.g. daughters, sisters), even if they are not the primary perpetrator. It is not clear why, but arguments advanced about self-interest or fear (Payton, 2014), about female relatives distancing themselves from shame by association (Giovannini, 1987) or about the patriarchal bargain (Kandiyoti, 1988) may all apply. Third, in other cases women seem to actively abuse their female in-laws, often their daughters or sisters-in-law. Here is evidence for the intersection of age and status within the family being as important a dividing line and power dynamic as gender (Payton, 2011; Oldenburg, 2002; Rew *et al*, 2013, on a culturally-specific form of patriarchal bargain).

The findings suggest that where there are female perpetrators (even alongside men), there is overall less physical and sexual violence. Such a profile of abuse may be also reflected in the less common association of cases involving a female perpetrator with criminal justice action. One possibility could be that these emotional/psychological forms of abuse are seen as less serious in criminal justice terms—for example, they are harder to link with a criminal offence. Another possibility is that where women—especially mothers or mothers-in-law—are involved, cases are treated differently by criminal justice agencies. A third possibility is that victims are less likely to report to police or wish to pursue action against their families where mothers, and natal relatives in general, are involved. There is evidence that, where there are multiple perpetrators of honour-based abuse, police tend only to interview and arrest the main perpetrator, who is often the male (Hester *et al*, 2015). This study's findings may add another layer to that one, by indicating that where there are multiple perpetrators which include a female, there is less likely to be any criminal justice action at all. In a sense, the (mainly secondary) involvement of a female perpetrator may act as a protection against the case taking a criminal justice route.

The involvement of women raises some further questions: first among which is, can we be sure that these women are really active in the abuse; or might they be 'guilty by association', or indeed trying to mitigate the actions of male family members. In a handful of cases examined for this study, the narrative suggests that the female (often the mother) may perhaps be a victim of abusive or controlling behaviour from male relatives herself; in others

she is listed as resistant, or indeed as a protective factor to the victim, perhaps advocating on her behalf. These different roles for women are reflective of some of the literature, especially around previous high-profile cases (e.g. Tulay Goren's murder) where the women's roles in the family and abuse were complex (Elden, 2011). The more nuanced nature of women's roles in perpetrating or protecting from such abuse would be a very fruitful avenue for further research.

Perpetrator number

Collusion or pre-planning by multiple perpetrators amongst the extended family or wider community has been identified as a distinguishing feature (e.g. Sen, 2005). Some 57% of this study's cases involved multiple perpetrators. The proportion was higher in the police, S01 and S02 datasets (where more case details were known and the involvement of multiple perpetrators could be more easily identified), at between 75% and 89%. In the Insights dataset it was 54%. By comparison, the overall rate of multiple perpetrators for all domestic abuse cases in the Insights dataset for 2013-14 was 6% (SafeLives, 2015).²⁶ A statistically significant association was found between multiple perpetrators and non-intimate partner violence cases: multiple perpetrators were significantly more likely in cases which did not involve an intimate partner. Where an intimate partner was involved, the other multiple perpetrators tended to be their relatives (the victim's in-laws).

These data support the picture that involvement of multiple perpetrators is a key feature distinguishing honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases from other forms of abuse. These data do not allow a fuller exploration of the nature of planning or collusion; but do provide new evidence in support of a high rate of multiple perpetrators.

Victim-perpetrator relationship

Prior studies have suggested that perpetrators are most often the victim's male blood relatives (Gill, 2014; Payton, 2014), or parents (Dyer, 2015), and often also involve wider family or community members (Gangoli *et al*, 2011; Brandon and Hafez, 2008). However,

²⁶ The overall rate in the Insights all-domestic abuse dataset was 9%. When the HBV/FM cases were removed, the rate within the remaining (i.e. non-HBV/FM) cases fell to 6%.

there is also evidence of intimate partner involvement (Karma Nirvana, 2008, reported 17% of perpetrators were intimate partners), and of intimate partners plus in-laws (Dyer, 2015, found over half the cases of 'honour killings' involved a current or former partner plus in-laws).

This study found evidence of all these relationships in the perpetration of honour-based abuse, in different combinations. Overall, it identified three key groups of perpetrators (in the police/S01/S02 data) on the basis of their relationship to the victim: intimate partners (involved in 58% of cases), natal family (in 58%) and in-laws (in 33%). These different relationships were grouped to form the three mutually exclusive types, based on victim-perpetrator relationship.

Whilst the involvement of intimate partner perpetrators does exist in the literature, the national policy literature, guidance and definitions of both honour-based abuse and forced marriage centre much more strongly around family member perpetrators. Indeed, the involvement of multiple family and community members in such abuse is often cited as a distinct factor. A key finding of this study is then the evidence it provides of the strong involvement of intimate partners in honour-based abuse cases. It clearly shows this to involve both intimate partners acting alone (*Type I*) and with others (*Type III*).

The findings also add evidence for the more commonly identified profile of blood relatives (often primarily male) acting against their own (primarily female) family members. Looking at who these relations are in *Type II*, the findings underline the high number of cases with parents involved—some 84% of *Type II* involved the parents (25% parents alone, 23% parents with sibling(s), and 36% parents with aunts/uncles/extended family). Another key finding is that *Type II* commonly involved the woman's family members acting against the woman (or, occasionally, against her and her male partner)—some 77% of *Type II* cases. Whereas *Type III* involved either the woman's family acting against her (22%) or the man's family (her in-laws) acting against her (50%), or both families acting against her (13%). The interesting feature is that 77% of *Type II* and 85% of *Type III* cases all involve families acting against the woman.

Abusive experience

There exist few prior quantitative analyses profiling the abusive behaviours or acts carried out in honour-based abuse cases. Descriptive accounts have identified psychological abuse, physical, emotional abuse, isolation/imprisonment, abandonment, kidnapping, rape and sexual violence, financial abuse, sexual abuse and honour killings (Karma Nirvana, 2008; Brandon and Hafez, 2008). This study shows that the profile of controlling/emotionally abusive behaviour (89% of these cases), harassment/stalking (59%), and physical abuse (62%) in honour-based abuse cases is strikingly similar to the profile in general domestic abuse cases. That many of these cases involved abuse from an intimate partner points to a degree of overlap with domestic abuse, which may in part explain the similar abuse profile. Emotional or psychological duress has been shown to be a less recognised feature of forced marriage cases (Hester *et al*, 2008), and this is borne out in the 9 in 10 cases in this study which involved such emotional or psychological abuse. It would be of interest in future research to explore the nature and impact of the emotional and psychological abuse in these honour-based abuse cases, compared with other cases of domestic intimate partner abuse.

Physical and sexual abuse were found to be statistically significantly associated with involvement of an intimate partner perpetrator (and especially with *Type I*); whereas emotional/psychological abuse were associated with family member perpetrators (*Type II*). Regression analysis indicated that sexual abuse was significantly more likely to occur in *Types I* and *III* than *Type II*. Threats to kill were present in one-third of cases, and were more associated with intimate partner perpetrators—especially with *Type III* (where it occurred in 58% of cases). Threats to kill have sometimes been shown to presage ‘honour killings’ carried out by family members (e.g. the Banaz Mahmood case). However, the fact that they are in these findings more linked to intimate partner involvement could be taken as evidence that estimates of the prevalence of potential ‘honour killings’ may have been exaggerated especially when compared to the risk and scale of domestic violence murders from current or ex-intimate partners. Abuses relating to isolation, imprisonment, abandonment and kidnap were not specifically looked for or analysed in these datasets, but there was some evidence of these issues in the case summaries and future work might explore these further.

Over three-quarters of cases involved multiple different forms of abuse, similar to the rate in non-honour based domestic abuse cases. In these datasets, some 28% had two forms of abuse, some 28% three forms, some 22% four forms, and some 6% five or more forms. Those cases with the highest number of different forms of abuse all involved intimate partner violence (a link which was statistically significant), and *Type III* had the highest proportions of case with the most forms of abuse. Multiple abuses have been found to be indicative of more severe abuse (Hegarty, 2007; Hester, Donovan and Fahmy, 2010).

Risk

Also similar to the domestic abuse profile was the proportion of cases deemed to be high risk: 66% in this dataset compared with 62% for all-domestic abuse (SafeLives, 2015). Risk was significantly associated with type: *Type II* had fewer high risk cases, whereas *Type I* was significantly associated with high risk. Cases involving an intimate partner were significantly more likely to be deemed high risk than those which did not. Across all the data, whilst slightly more cases were deemed high risk than in domestic abuse cases, fewer met the MARAC threshold—45% compared to 54% for all domestic abuse cases. However, this was inverted for *Type II*, in which cases were deemed less high risk, but the same proportion met the MARAC threshold as for the other types. This raises some interesting possibilities. Overall, are the risks in honour-based abuse cases being scored more highly (perhaps on the basis of individual indicators, such as multiple perpetrators or the involvement of ‘honour’, or perhaps because of local policies to treat all honour-based cases as high risk), only for the case taken as a whole to be downgraded in terms of MARAC risk? Is the inverse true for *Type II* cases: they score less highly on risk tools but are escalated when considered as a whole—perhaps reflecting local policies (e.g. to always refer honour-based abuse cases to MARAC)? This would be worth further exploration, perhaps involving interviews with MARAC chairs or co-ordinators about policies, risk and decision-making.

Conclusion: Nature and profile

Honour-based abuse, in common with other forms of domestic abuse, is heavily gendered. Mainly, victims were female and perpetrators were male. There were similarities with other forms of intimate partner domestic abuse, for example separation being a common trigger

for abuse. So, what classifies a case as honour-based? The findings suggest that this occurred where certain characteristics relating to either the victim or perpetrator, or the intersection of both, looked different to mainstream cases of intimate partner domestic abuse. These victims of honour-based abuse seemed to all be minorities in different ways: they were a combination of BME, male, LGBT (lesbian and gay in the police/S01/S02 dataset, LGBT in Insights), and/or had insecure immigration status or were foreign national spouses. Where religion was known, several were of a minority religion (in the British context)—in particular, Islam. The perpetrators could also be seen to have minority characteristics. They were BME, and/or they involved female perpetrators (uncommon in intimate partner domestic violence cases), and/or there were multiple perpetrators (also uncommon in intimate partner violence cases). The intersection between identities of victim and perpetrator was key—in particular, their relationships. Again, this shows that cases involving minorities were commonly identified as honour-based abuse—especially where there was a couple with one White and one BME partner; or one British and one foreign national partner. In some of the cases across all three types it was possible to discern the role of honour/shame as the recorded motivation or trigger for abuse. However, in others there was no discernible notion of honour—and the abuse could be seen as similar in form or motive as other ‘mainstream’ cases of domestic and intimate partner violence.

The study’s findings about ethnicity and the possible identification of cases of intimate partner violence where one or both partners are BME as honour-based abuse, are interesting from an intersectional perspective. They suggest that the identification of honour-based abuse may highlight a failure of intersectionality in practice, because it seems that ethnicity is being privileged over gender as the key defining feature of honour-based abuse. Squires (2009) has shown that, in policy terms, intersecting identities such as gender and ethnicity can be set up in competition (as ‘either/or’ inequalities). This might be occurring with these cases of honour-based abuse—it is being classed as an issue either of gender or of ethnicity, rather than one specifically arising at the combined intersection of both. On the other hand, these findings do highlight the ongoing relevance of intersectionality as one theoretical and analytical approach—it was only by examining the intersections of the victim and perpetrator identities and relationships in in this study that the types of honour-based abuse emerged clearly.

Classified into three types, these cases show some significant associations. *Type II* (Family abuse) was most distinct. This type was most likely to involve younger victims, under 25 yrs old, more likely to have male victims than the other types, but victims were less likely to have vulnerable immigration status. *Type II* was more likely to involve natal family members, and a female perpetrator (though usually in a secondary role), especially the victim's own mother. These cases were deemed lower risk but as likely to go to MARAC. They were least likely to have a crime associated with the case, involve an arrest or charge and most likely to have no further action taken by the police. By contrast, *Type I* (Partner only—with sub-groups of *Type Ia* (no identifiable honour context) and *Type Ib* (pressure, though not direct abuse, relating to honour/shame)) was most likely to involve White ethnicity victims and most likely to involve physical and sexual abuse; this type was most likely to be associated with a crime. *Type III* (Partner plus family) was most likely to involve immigration-vulnerable victims (No Recourse to Public Funds), more likely to involve in-laws as perpetrators, often involved a female perpetrator, who was most commonly the mother-in-law. *Type III* was most likely to involve threats to kill and had the highest number of different forms of abuse.

Research question 2: How does forced marriage relate to honour-based abuse?

Features of forced marriage

The literature identifies multiple characteristics of forced marriage cases, including younger victims (commonly under 25yrs), British victims, male victims, LGBT orientation as a trigger for abuse, and the involvement of female perpetrators (Kazimirski *et al*, 2009; Hester *et al*, 2008). This study supports those features previously identified, of a statistically significant link with younger victims (63% of forced marriage victims are under 25yrs—and this age group is more than twice as likely in the forced marriage cases compared with the non-forced marriage cases) and more British victims. The analysis picked out several additional features which were statistically significantly associated, including presence of multiple perpetrators, that (whilst there are more females involved in the abuse) the primary perpetrators are still mostly men, and that forced marriage cases involve much less physical and sexual abuse than other honour-based abuse cases.

Conceptualisations of forced marriage

Previous debates about how to measure and identify forced marriage have discussed whether to only count marriages which had already taken place, or also suspicion or fear that one might take place in future (Hester *et al*, 2008). Kazimirski *et al* (2009) found that two-thirds of forced marriages reported to support services related to threats or suspicions, and one-third to marriages that had already happened. This study adds new evidence to these debates. Where forced marriage was identified, it fell evenly (half and half) into two distinct profiles: (1) cases where an attempt had been made to force the victim to marry (whether or not the attempt had been successful; and (2) cases where there was a perceived threat or risk that an attempt would be made in future. These findings show that this question of definition remains relevant, and it adds to the evidence about proportions of cases which meet each definition.

This study did not specifically explore constructions and understandings of forced marriage, and therefore did not add to debates around ('slippage' of) consent (Hester *et al*, 2008; Dustin and Phillips, 2008) or of potentially different understandings amongst victims of 'force' (Hester *et al*, 2008), or notions of exiting marriages as well as entering them (Hester *et al*, 2008). However, three elements in the case data did hint at these debates. One, the strong association of forced marriage cases with *Type II* and in particular with British victims (as opposed to immigrant spouses, which were more represented in *Type III*), may in part reflect a better awareness and understanding amongst these younger, British victims around national policy and law on what constitutes a 'forced' marriage and on changing policy discourses around consent. In other words, a higher proportion than reported of the immigrant wives represented in *Type III* may have experienced a marriage which would have met the Government definition of 'forced', but they may not have construed it as forced, and/or this may have not been captured in the case file (and therefore in this study) because the principal current abuse was domestic abuse from their partner plus in-laws.

Two, the *Type III* profile (older, more often NRPF) raises the possibility that some victims in this group have been 'trapped' in abusive relationships. There is evidence from the case file analysis of both victims being unable to exit unwanted or abusive marriages due to (a) immigration vulnerability, (b) the presence of multiple perpetrators and close

policing/isolation especially by in-laws (both in *Type III*) and (c) pressure from relatives to remain in the relationship relating to honour/shame (*Type Ib*). These cases do offer evidence in support of arguments (Gangoli *et al*, 2011; Hester *et al*, 2008) that an ‘inability to escape’ unwanted or abusive marriages should be conceptualised as part of forced marriage, as well as not wanting to enter a marriage, and policy should consider ‘routes out’ as well as in. In this context it is worth noting that the Forced Marriage Unit is only able to support British nationals.

Three, the evidence that in half of these cases the marriage had been already contracted or attempted (rather than being currently threatened) suggests that forced marriage and its impacts cannot be solely viewed as a problem of preventing such marriages—victims are living with the consequences too, and so routes out (see previous point) become even more important.

Relationship with honour-based abuse

The literature shows forced marriage to often occur in a context of honour-based abuse; but that it sometimes occurs in other contexts including for reasons of poverty, bride price, sexuality, care of disabled relatives, land/wealth transfer or immigration reasons (Chantler *et al*, 2009; Hester *et al*, 2008; HMIC, 2015). Some have argued, however, that forced marriage should always be seen as honour-based abuse. The Iranian and Kurdish Women’s Rights Organisation (IKWRO), in evidence to the 2008 HASC inquiry, proposed that there was an “absolute correlation” between the two, since these marriages were used as a tool of control and/or because forced marriage always related to honour—either because of shame associated with not meeting family commitments, or because it was used as a corrective for perceived transgressions (Parliament. House of Commons, 2008b, Ev 291). The literature review found little evidence distinguishing how often forced marriage occurred in honour-based and non-honour-based contexts, although available data suggested that honour-based abuse was identified more often than forced marriage (HMIC, 2015; CPS, 2016). The overall framing of this study started from a position that there had been an (over) focus on forced marriage in both literature, policy, law and empirical studies, and that that may have been to the detriment of data and understanding of the wider field of honour-based abuse.

This study has added substantial evidence here. It has shown that forced marriage was associated with just over a quarter of cases (28%). Where a forced marriage (previously attempted, or a perceived threat) was identified, only about a quarter occurred outside of a clearly-discernible honour context; three-quarters had identifiable honour contexts. The following graphic illustrates both (a) the proportion of overall cases involving and not involving a forced marriage; and (b) where there was a forced marriage, how many occurred in an honour context. The grey and blue people represent forced marriage cases (totalling 28%); the orange people (72%) are honour-based abuse cases with no forced marriage. The single grey person (7%) is forced marriage outside an honour context; the blue people (a further 21%) are forced marriages occurring within an honour context. The key message here is that most cases of honour-based abuse did not involve forced marriage; where they did, forced marriage mostly occurred in the context of honour, with less than 10% of all the cases involving a forced marriage in isolation from honour-based abuse.

Figure 4: Overlap of forced marriage and honour-based abuse



That forced marriage was only associated with around a quarter of cases is supported by the findings of the 2015 HMIC police inspection. The cases in that study broke down into the subgroups HBV (60%), FM (30%) and FGM (10%). So these findings are consistent, in showing that approximately two-thirds or more of honour-based abuse cases do not involve a forced marriage. This is an important proof-of-concept for this study, because it demonstrates that we still perhaps know less about the content of the non-forced marriage cases, and underscores the contribution of this research to that evidence gap.

Being able to show the proportional relationship of forced marriage to honour-based abuse, and confirming it by triangulation in different datasets may also offer a contribution to the question of scale of honour-based abuse in England and Wales. If Kazimirski *et al* (2009) are right to estimate the number of reported forced marriage cases each year to be between

5,000 and 8,000, perhaps the reported number of overall honour-based abuse cases might be estimated at 15,000 to 32,000 (i.e. three to four times this rate)?

This study showed forced marriage to be associated with *Type II*. It was present in around two-thirds of those cases. Testing showed this association to be statistically highly significant. Forced marriage was also shown to be significantly associated with *Type III* compared to *Type I*, though it was only present in around one in five of the *Type III* cases, making the association less strong than with *Type II*.

In sum, this study suggests that forced marriage very often occurs within an honour-based abuse context: overall, less than 10% of forced marriage did not. It adds new evidence about key factors associated with forced marriage cases as compared to non-forced marriage cases. It shows that forced marriage (risk of, or attempted) is characteristic of and particularly linked to *Type II* honour-based abuse, where it is present in 55% of those cases. Yet it is not a risk in all *Type II* cases, which would suggest caution in conflating the two. Overall, it confirms one of the key assumptions behind the aims and research questions for this study: namely that forced marriage, whilst accounting for a majority of the existing literature, theory, empirical studies, government responses, criminal offences, law and public attention, in reality is implicated in a minority of cases of honour-based abuse.

Research question 3: Should honour-based abuse be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse?

Framing the question

It has been argued that honour-based abuse (and forced marriage) should be viewed together with other forms of gender-based violence, including domestic and intimate partner abuse, as stemming from the same driver of control of female sexuality and autonomy (Coomaraswamy, 2002). Such arguments suggest that emphasising difference can blur the similarities with other forms of gendered abuse, creating a “parallel universe” in which all forms of violence against BME women are seen through a lens of honour (Siddiqui, 2014). It can create artificial dividing lines which risk ‘othering’ and ‘exoticising’ these cases, and potentially fueling Islamophobia and racism (Wilson, 2010). Moreover, it is argued that this

approach 'essentialises' cultures, presuming them to be homogenous, and thereby oversimplifies the intersectionalities of race, class, culture and religion as well as gender *within* those cultures (Thiara and Gill, 2010). It has also been argued that honour-based abuse should be seen specifically as a form of domestic abuse—for example, Brandon and Hafez (2008) call this 'honour-based domestic abuse'. On the other hand, some see honour-based abuse as qualitatively distinct from domestic abuse, principally because of the involvement of the extended family and community in policing victims' behaviour and carrying out abuse, and elements of pre-planning and collusion (Dyer, 2015).

Others have blended the two perspectives, situating honour-based abuse within a common framework of many forms of gendered violence against women, whilst recognising that there are 'important differences' and specific characteristics such as multiple perpetrators (including women) and collective action (Sen, 2005; Dustin and Phillips, 2008).

This study adopted a dual theoretical framework which I call 'commonality and specificity'. Adapting the ideas of Sen (2005) and Dustin and Phillips (2008), I agree that honour-based abuse should be conceptualised as a form of gender-based abuse, with elements in common with other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse, but recognizing and not 'flattening' the elements of difference from other forms of domestic abuse. Using new data, the study identified what were the commonalities and specificities of honour-based abuse compared with other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse. This approach mirrors to some extent the Government's framing of honour-based abuse and forced marriage, which sees these practices under a policy umbrella of domestic abuse but also emphasises their distinctness. I would suggest, however, that there is a risk that successive governments may have distorted differences by over-emphasising them through policies and laws addressed at specific elements (e.g. forced marriage), rather than adopting measures which address together all forms of gendered abuse.

This study systematically profiled who and what is involved in honour-based abuse and forced marriage, providing new empirical evidence to examine similarities and differences. Drawing on the case profiles analysed, this work developed and tested a model of three types of honour-based abuse which helped identify these features of similarity and difference from

other cases of domestic and intimate partner abuse. Regression analysis allowed them to be compared and tested.

The data showed two key elements. First, in the nature of the abuse and the profile of those involved, a sizeable amount of what is being identified in England and Wales as honour-based abuse looked very much like other domestic or intimate partner abuse (i.e. what would be identified as domestic violence within a white British family or community). Second, it demonstrated that there were also specific, definable, differences in profile, which marked some groups of cases out as different in nature.

Commonalities with domestic and intimate partner abuse

In terms of common features, the evidence showed that cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage are heavily gendered, with almost all victims female; most victims are in their 20s and 30s; the primary perpetrator is most often a current or ex intimate partner; the most common form of abuse is coercive or emotional controlling behaviour including intimidation, control and isolation; there is often physical abuse, harassment and/or stalking and (less often) sexual abuse; there are often multiple forms of abuse and much of it is high risk; many cases are known to the police; where a charge is made, it is most often for violence against the person (primarily physical assault) offences; a similar proportion proceed; and penalties are similar.

These strong commonalities with 'mainstream' domestic intimate partner abuse add weight to the argument that the primary defining feature of honour-based abuse is gender inequality and the control of women's autonomy and sexuality (Siddiqui, 2014), rather than it being culturally-driven. One challenge to commonality is the existence in many of these cases of an identifiable element of 'honour', which suggests that, whilst the primary linking factor (in common with other domestic abuse) is gender, there is a secondary, defining feature, of honour which relates to cultural or familial beliefs and practices. The critical question, perhaps, is whether and how this 'honour' element differs from other forms and tools of control and abuse in other domestic abuse. An examination of the nature of the *Type I* cases identified a sub-type of cases where the partner used honour as a weapon of control or intimidation (*Type Ib*). Whilst this looks different on the surface, it would be possible to

replace the honour with other tools used by domestic abuse perpetrators. In the same way that these perpetrators are using honour/shame to threaten, cajole, intimidate, shame or plead with the victim, other abusers might use children, financial control, sexual abuse or threats to shame the victim with sexual information or images, and so on. So, at least in this *Type I*, we can observe that honour is used as a weapon or tool of control which is culturally-specific; but, critically, it could be replaced like-for-like with other ‘culturally-specific’ tools in cases of White British domestic abuse. This provides evidence in support of arguments around how practices specific to BME communities are often labelled ‘cultural’ whereas those specific to mainstream (white) cultures are often labelled ‘gendered’ (i.e. culture is ignored) (Chantler and Gangoli, 2011).

Specificity and difference

In terms of specific features of difference, the honour-based abuse cases in these datasets involved: proportionally more (though still few) male victims; a much higher proportion of BME victims—principally South Asian; more non-British victims; more with insecure immigration status (No Recourse to Public Funds); more cases with multiple perpetrators and (of these), more involving a female perpetrator, in-laws and natal family members. Whilst the profile of abuse was mostly similar to other domestic abuse, more of these cases involved a forced marriage, and sizeable numbers involved threats to kill. They were less likely than other cases of domestic or intimate partner abuse to involve a criminal charge and slightly less likely to involve a conviction.

With the possible exception of the presence in some of the *Type I* cases of a specific discourse around honour, the types of behaviours evidenced in these cases seem to support the existence of Siddiqui’s (2014) “parallel universe”, or Brandon and Hafez’s (2008) ‘honour-based domestic abuse’ in which domestic abuse in BME communities is branded as honour-based abuse. That this context often operates implicitly (and therefore perhaps invisibly) should not, of course, be taken as evidence that it does not exist, or is not powerful. Hester *et al* (2015) found some evidence in favour of this—victims of intimate partner abuse frequently reported that ‘honour’ mediated and magnified their experiences of abuse.

The three types—a spectrum of commonality to difference?

The study developed a typology of honour-based abuse cases characterised by the relationships between the victims and perpetrators. Some of the types were broadly similar to other cases of domestic intimate partner abuse, and others were substantially different.

Type I was pretty well identical to ‘mainstream’ domestic intimate partner abuse, except for the ethnicity of the victim or perpetrators. It involved a single perpetrator who was the current or ex intimate partner, with multiple forms of abuse often involving coercive control/emotional abuse and physical abuse, much of which was high risk, and some of which invoked criminal justice action (*Type Ia*). *Type Ib* had the same profile, but with a background context of control or intimidation relating to pressure from honour/shame—this was either from the intimate partner themselves, or from one or both of the families. *Type III* shared many elements of the *Type I*, principally abuse from a current or ex intimate partner, but with additional perpetrators, who were most often the victim’s in-laws. The profile of the victims was different to *Type I*: they were much more likely to be immigrant spouses, with insecure immigration status, a little older, experiencing more forms of abuse and deemed to be higher risk. *Type III* had features of commonality (principally the involvement of (ex) intimate partner abuser) and difference (the addition of in-laws as abusers). Most different, and with the most specific features, was *Type II*, involving abuse from family members only, usually natal family members, and with a distinct profile of victims (mainly female, but more male), perpetrators (mainly men but much more women involved), abuse and risk, and most likely to involve forced marriage.

The profiling undertaken in this study has not identified wholly new forms of abuse. A pattern of domestic abuse within BME families (akin to *Type III*) which involves both the intimate partner and the extended family members (in-laws) has been discussed by Siddiqui (2014) and others, who successfully argued in 2004 for the extension of the definition of domestic abuse to accommodate these patterns. Siddiqui (2005) has highlighted the mis-labelling of all intimate partner violence amongst BME couples as honour-based abuse. Others have argued that intimate partner violence can have ‘overtones of honour’, even where it ‘lacks the collective dimension of family-based violence’ (International HBV Awareness Network, www.hbv-awareness.com, no date). Both views may help explain the identification of *Type I*

cases as honour-based abuse. The profile of *Type II*, often involving forced marriage, is most reflective of the profile described in government definitions and guidance on forced marriage, and perhaps other guidance on honour-based abuse more generally. This study has shown from new empirical data that all these different profiles currently exist in England and Wales under the label of honour-based abuse. It has proved their existence, suggested their relative proportions within existing datasets, and demonstrated and tested that they all involve some distinct aspects relating to victim, perpetrator, abuse, and criminal justice interactions. It has done so in a robust way, by triangulating their existence and profile in several different datasets and data collection sites. It has then progressed the idea of these different profiles of honour-based abuse by developing them into a typology and profiling and testing the similarities and differences between the types.

Gill and Mitra-Kahn (2010) critique cultural explanations of honour-based abuse for emphasising the dividing lines *between* (mainstream white and BME) cultures at the expense of inequalities and different power roles *within* communities. This study provides a point of rebuttal in support of their argument, by providing evidence for the existence of distinct types *within* cultures, rather than just *between* cultures—seen, for example, in the very existence of *Types II and III*. Further, this study's evidence supports intersectionality arguments, by showing that what makes up honour-based abuse is a variety of types, which contain some differences in terms of the victim's identity at the intersection of their gender, ethnicity, immigration status and nationality, as well as other differences in the profile of abuse and perpetrators. It therefore supports Korteweg and Yurdakul in arguing that that honour-based abuse is "a form of VAW shaped within the intersection of race, gender, sexual orientation, religious, ethnic and class dynamics" (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2010, p.4), and Thiara and Gill (2010), that the complexity of South Asian women's experiences risk being oversimplified, leaving to their 'collective victimhood' when in fact their experiences may be very different to one another.

The evidence in this study gives weight to the arguments of feminists that honour-based abuse and forced marriage have been 'othered' (Thiara and Gill, 2010; Gangoli *et al*, 2011) and that different forms of violence against BME women have been collapsed through the lens of HBV (Siddiqui, 2014). This is shown by the existence in the case evidence of a

proportion of cases of 'just' intimate partner abuse (with no identifiable honour element), which suggests that professionals (police and specialist domestic abuse agencies) are conflating intimate partner violence in BME couples with honour-based abuse. This study does not probe in detail the reasons for the designation of these cases as honour-based abuse, so it is not possible to be sure that they have been wrongly conflated; however, given that ethnicity (all BME and mostly South Asian) is the only clear feature distinguishing these cases from 'other' intimate partner abuse, it seems likely that this was the reason for flagging the case as honour-based abuse. However, this gives rise to an interesting debate relating to policy and practice. Whilst feminist authors are right to identify the potentially racist, discriminatory and damaging effects of all intimate partner/domestic abuse being identified as honour-based, the evidence base for this study has been extracted from front-line practice agencies which are responding to victims in crisis. Their flagging of cases as (at risk of) honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage, even on the basis of an element like the victim's ethnicity, might be the correct response for that purpose. Considering what has been written about the risks associated with honour-based abuse (and especially from lessons learnt from 'honour killings'), and the recommended 'One Chance' policy (HMIC, 2015), it may very well be appropriate for police, victims' agencies and other front-line professionals to over-identify cases as honour-based abuse if it alerts them to the possible risks and they act accordingly.

The appropriateness of a gendered approach

These findings confirm a gendered analysis of honour-based abuse which identified male power and control over female autonomy and sexuality as key. All cases and types seem to bear this out, with the vast majority of cases involving male (primary) perpetrators and female victims. The specific operation of gender varies between the types: *Type I* mostly involves an intimate partner trying to control or punish a female victim, whereas *Type II* relates to natal family members either trying to prevent a victim from selecting their own partner or forcing them into a partnership desired by the family, and *Type III* is more about the operation of gender and generational roles within the in-law family.

There are two counterpoints to a gendered analysis. First, the existence of male victims. In these cases a gendered interpretation is still possible. The cases involving male victims are almost all *Type II* cases, in which the male is being punished for being gay or for otherwise

rejecting their family's choice of partner; or they are *Type I* but with abuse from their current or ex partner's family members for the shame brought to her of him leaving. In both scenarios the perpetrators of the abuse are still primarily male relatives (natal family members or in-laws) and the abuse relates in some way to shame arising from inverting gender norms or roles (e.g. being lesbian or gay, or leaving a marriage). Second, the involvement of female perpetrators in larger numbers than other forms of domestic abuse. However, it can again be seen that the involvement of these women in the abuse is varied. They seem to play different (more active or more passive) roles in different types—for instance, *Type II* involves more mothers but there is a question mark about whether they are actively involved or may be acting as mediators or even protective figures; whereas *Type III* involves more mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, seemingly in more proactive roles, which fits with the literature on mother-in-law to daughter-in-law violence (e.g. Payton, 2011) and the hierarchical structures of some South Asian extended families—the 'culturally-specific form of patriarchal bargain' identified by Rew *et al* (2013). The roles of these women in honour-based abuse—which are themselves complex and must not be collapsed or 'essentialised'—can still be seen as part of the gendered nature of this abuse when seen through the lens of the patriarchal bargain (Kandoyoti, 1998; Samad and Eade, 2002). Finally, the identification of gendered power and control as a distinguishing feature of honour-based abuse should itself be challenged. Whilst it has been shown that this analysis is correct, it is not clear how it makes honour-based abuse different to other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse, which are also driven by male power and control.

A gendered—or at least gender-sensitive—analysis is shown to be correct. Even where wider family members, multiple perpetrators or female perpetrators are involved, the primary perpetrator remains most often a male, and the victim most often a female.

Conclusion: Research question 3

My answer to this research question on whether honour-based abuse should be conceptualised as a form of domestic or intimate partner abuse, is a qualified yes. As a first principle, all the types this study identified should be firmly situated as forms of gender-based abuse. The majority of cases involved a primary male perpetrator and a primary female victim, and the narratives showed that abuse was frequently driven by ideas about gender roles or

behaviours, and/or the control of female sexuality or autonomy. Second, these cases all fit the national definition of domestic abuse in its widest sense (i.e. involving abuse by an intimate partner and/or family member). Third, this study has shown that some cases of honour-based abuse (*Type I*) look the same as the sub-set of domestic abuse that is intimate partner domestic abuse. So, to address the question, based both on national definitions, and on the features of the three types, these cases can all be seen as domestic and/or intimate partner abuse.

On the basis of this analysis, I suggest that *Type Ia* should be seen as the same as ‘mainstream’ domestic intimate partner abuse. *Type Ib* is also domestic intimate partner abuse, but there needs to be a recognition of the mediating influence of honour and related pressure from extended family members (Hester *et al*, 2015). *Type III* should be seen as a specific form of BME domestic intimate partner abuse, with its own risks and particularities stemming from the involvement of multiple extended family members alongside the partner, and recognizing the distinct profile features of victims in this group. It is *Type II* which is most different to the others, and the only one which cannot be construed as domestic intimate partner abuse. Whilst it does fit the wider definition of (familial) domestic abuse, it has the greatest differences in terms of victim and abuse features, risks and the range and roles of perpetrators. Thus, *Type II* offers the most compelling argument for conceptualisation as a distinct form of abuse which can be called honour-based, and defined differently.

Research question 4: What are the implications for national policy and definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage?

Introduction—two forms of definition

Returning to the question of definitions, the presence of multiple types of case being flagged as honour-based abuse offers support for the interpretation that there is not currently a strong shared understanding about what constitutes honour-based abuse (Siddiqui, 2014). This in turn supports the rationale for this study, namely that an over-focus on specific forms of honour-based abuse (e.g. forced marriage, FGM) has been to the detriment of developing an understanding of the other cases. This section considers the implications of the findings for definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage in this country. Definitions matter.

They shape the identification and response to victims of these abuses. Additionally, if consideration is to be given to introducing new criminal offences (HMIC, 2015), being able to precisely define what is and is not honour-based abuse will be critical.

In chapter 2, I suggested that there were two forms of definition. First, those adopted by the Government and statutory agencies, which I call ‘policy definitions’. I would argue that the purpose of these definitions is to summarise in a concise way what is in and out of scope in a particular form of abuse, and (where relevant) reflect legal definitions. Necessarily, then, they are broad-brush, to encompass all relevant forms of abuse, people and situations. Second, definitions put forward by academics and researchers, which define the abuse by (all or some of) its key features. They often draw on empirical evidence and allow for more detailed description. These I call ‘features-based definitions’. This section reviews and critiques the key policy definition(s) of honour-based abuse and forced marriage against the empirical evidence from this study. I then propose my own policy definition, and supplement it with my own features-based definition which references the three types.

Existing policy definitions

In England and Wales, the key policy definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage comprise a non-statutory definition of honour-based violence (expanded in 2015 by the National Police Chiefs’ Council) and a statutory definition of forced marriage (which links to the new criminal offence). Table 46 sets out these definitions, broken down by their component terms, describing what each element within the definition is doing, and what its effect is.

Table 46: Key government policy definitions of honour-based abuse and forced marriage

Element in definition	What it is describing/what is the effect?
<i>Honour-based violence: main cross-Government definition (no date)</i>	
“an incident or crime”	<i>The event or act, and whether it is an offence. Focuses on one-off incidents, rather than patterns.</i>
“which has been (or may have) been committed to protect or defend the honour”	<i>Explicit or implicit motive for the abuse: relates to honour.</i>
“of the family and/or community”	<i>Whose honour is involved. Note that the “family and/or community” relates to the motivation, not necessarily who is the perpetrator of the abuse. However, implies there may be multiple perpetrators, and the possibility of collusion.</i>
<i>Honour-based abuse: National Police Chiefs’ Council updated definition (2015)</i>	
“a crime or incident”	<i>The event or act, and whether it is an offence. Focuses on one-off incidents, rather than patterns.</i>
“involving violence, threats of violence, intimidation, coercion or abuse (including psychological, physical, sexual, financial or emotional abuse)”	<i>New element. The form(s) of abusive behaviour. Potentially “threats of violence” extends the time from only acts already committed, to include future acts.</i>
“which has, or may have been committed to protect or defend the honour”	<i>Explicit or implicit motive for the abuse: relates to honour.</i>
“of an individual, family and/or community”	<i>“individual” is a new element. Whose honour is involved. Note that the “individual, family and/or community” relates to the motivation, not necessarily who is the perpetrator of the abuse. However, implies there may be multiple perpetrators, and the possibility of collusion.</i>
“for alleged or perceived breaches of the family and/or community code of behaviour”	<i>New element. What the victim is perceived to have done wrong.</i>

Element in definition	What it is describing/what is the effect?
<i>Forced marriage: cross-Government definition (2013)</i>	
"a marriage"	<i>The event or act.</i>
"in which one or both spouses do not consent to the marriage but are coerced into it".	<i>Victim(s) (lack of) choice or consent. Distinguishing feature from other marriages.</i>
"Duress can include physical, psychological, financial, sexual and emotional pressure."	<i>Form(s) of abusive behaviour.</i>
"In the cases of some vulnerable adults who lack the capacity to consent, coercion is not required for a marriage to be forced."	<i>Specific capacity issues for some vulnerable adults.</i>

There are two parts to addressing the adequacy of existing policy definitions. One, do the cases analysed in this study display the core features described in the definition(s)? Two, are there elements identified in this study which are missing from the definitions? The following sections address each of these in turn.

We can see that the main definition in operation across government (see table 46) identifies three core elements. I have considered each of these in turn alongside the evidence from this study:

(a) It is a crime or incident.

This study has shown that honour-based abuse should certainly not be viewed as just crimes. Some organisations (e.g. FMU, UN) do refer to 'honour crimes' and this is misleading as these data show that very often cases of honour-based abuse (including forced marriage) are not seen as crimes at all—even those which are reported to, or come to the attention of, the police. Incidents is a better descriptor, but again the case summaries in this study suggest that (as with domestic abuse and the new offences of coercive and controlling behaviour), honour-based abuse should be seen as a pattern of incidents and acts, and rarely as a one-off.

(b) It involves the protection or defence of honour.

These findings suggest a more complex relationship with protecting or defending honour as a motivation for abuse. Many of the cases in *Type Ib* and *Type II*, and some cases in *Type III*, do display explicit evidence of honour as a motive or context for abuse. However, in other cases (especially *Type Ia*, and some *Type III*), no identifiable honour context or motive was discovered. There is however an argument that honour operates implicitly to regularly mediate BME victims' experiences of domestic abuse (Hester *et al*, 2015), even if it is not explicitly identified.

(c) Honour relates to the family and/or community (implying the potential for multiple perpetrators, and for collusion).

The findings raise questions about whether cases always involve family and community members, and (by implication), multiple perpetrators. The government definition alludes to the collective actions of extended family networks, and there is mixed evidence in this study for this. Some cases have clear involvement of multiple, extended family members, particularly in *Types II* and *III*. However, it is not at all clear that the extended family and/or community is involved in *Type I*, although in a sub-group of *Type Ib* cases there is pressure applied from extended family on the victim to remain in, or reconcile to, the relationship. On the contrary, a sizeable number of *Type I* cases definitely do not involve family/community members. As such, the findings confirm that multiple perpetrators are a key feature of honour-based abuse in *Types II* and *III*. However, the evidence is that *Type I* cannot be distinguished in this way. What this study adds to the question of multiple perpetrators is a more nuanced appraisal of who they are and in what combinations.

So, the findings of this study show that the elements of honour-based abuse identified in the existing policy definition(s) only partially fit the profile of cases (at least, those known to police and victims' NGOs). Incidents and crimes are only part of the picture (a pattern of ongoing incidents would be more accurate); the explicit identification of honour as a motive is not positively identifiable in all cases; and perpetrators do involve family members but less often the wider community. By contrast, they do often involve current or former intimate partners; and multiple perpetrators are indeed a feature of many cases.

Now, turning to what is missing or absent from these policy definitions. This study has examined who does what to whom in honour-based abuse. A key thread running through the findings has been the centrality of the relationship of victim and perpetrator(s), and the number of perpetrators. We can see that the main cross-Government definition does not cover either *who* or *what* are involved in the abuse. The expanded NPCC definition does provide a list of *what* (describing the forms of abuse involved), but the *who* (in the form of victim and/or perpetrator) is still missing. In addition, there is no recognition in these policy definitions of the gendered nature and direction of the abuse. Therefore, it is my contention that policy definitions need re-writing to make the people involved more visible, to indicate the direction of the abuse between them, its gendered nature, and to account for the differing profiles of the types I have identified.

Honour-based abuse: merged with or separate to domestic abuse?

The question of definitions relates back to the question of conceptualisation in research question 3. If some honour-based abuse is substantially similar to domestic and intimate partner abuse, what does this mean for definitions? Should honour-based abuse and domestic abuse be brought together under a single definition, or retained separately?

I have already demonstrated that all cases and types of honour-based abuse in this study do fit within the government policy definition of domestic abuse. Policy definitions can be flexed to include different forms of abuse—as was done with the expansion of the definition of domestic abuse in 2004 to include family members alongside intimate partners. Locating all honour-based abuse within the domestic abuse definition could be helpful by countering the view of honour-based abuse as a “parallel discourse and placing it centrally within, rather than separate from, domestic violence” (Siddiqui, 2014, p.44). So doing would allow distinctions between the three types I have identified to be teased out under the same overarching umbrella. For example, *Type I* could be merged together with other intimate partner abuse, and the particularities of *Type III* could be recognised, whilst keeping it together with other intimate partner violence. *Type II* is more problematic as it is the most different from the other types, but does still fit within the family member category of the domestic abuse definition. Keeping *Type II* together with *Type I* and *Type III* but re-locating

them all within domestic abuse would allow similarities of profile, experience, motive and interventions across all three types to be recognised.

Whilst full integration of the definitions is attractive, there is a risk of the umbrella definition of domestic abuse being over-expanded to become meaningless by losing the essence and specificity of what is being defined. This might also inadvertently succumb to the dangers of collapsing the multiplicity of BME women's experiences together and flattening the differences. This study looked primarily at honour-based abuse cases and so, in addition to the risks identified above, it makes sense for this discussion to focus on how the honour-based abuse definition could be improved in itself. Therefore, for now, I will retain separate definitions of honour-based abuse and domestic abuse, but cross-refer between them, as well as with definitions of forced marriage.

Is the definition of honour-based abuse fit for purpose?

So far, examination of the definition specifically of honour-based abuse has considered: whether the cases in this study fit the policy definition(s) of honour-based abuse, and what they show to be missing from those definitions. Answering these two questions has shown that the policy definition(s) do not adequately cover what's going on in honour-based abuse cases, especially in terms of the victim, perpetrator and abuse profile, and the relationships between victims and perpetrators. There are two options for remedying this. First, the definition of honour-based abuse could be re-written to include the three types identified in this analysis. Second, some types could be explicitly excluded from the definition of honour-based abuse and re-homed elsewhere. This would likely involve re-locating *Type I* and *Type III* into the definition of domestic abuse (though with a recognition of the possible dynamics of honour in mediating abuse, and the potential involvement of family members as well as intimate partners), and the retention only of *Type II* as a single, separate and distinct, type of honour-based abuse.

I favour this latter approach, but at this point I choose to adopt the first. Because this study has been exploratory in nature, it is not possible to be certain that the same types would be replicated in cases known to other agencies and, in particular, whether they would hold up in the same way in other, non-South Asian, communities. That is not to say that I would not

advocate in future that *Type II* be split out from the others: simply that before this were definitively done, there should be testing and validation with further research. For these reasons, for the time being I propose that all three types are retained within the (separate) definition of honour-based abuse, and that that definition be expanded to include them. This should be done in two ways: first, the policy definition should be expanded, and second, a features-based definition should be drawn to delineate the different types, reflecting what this empirical study has shown about the nature of honour-based abuse. I propose both below.

Towards a revised definition of honour-based abuse

Drawing on my empirical findings, I propose a policy-relevant definition (see table 47), which seeks to make more central the perpetrator(s), victim(s), and nature of the abusive behaviour, as well as emphasise its gendered nature and situate it as a pattern of behaviour with links to domestic abuse and forced marriage. I supplement this with a more descriptive, features-based definition, presenting my three types and pointing to key characteristics of each. As discussed in chapter 2, the last comprehensive features-based definition of honour-based abuse was probably the six-features definition proposed by Sen in 2005 (Sen, 2005, p.50). That definition had international (not national) scope, and was based on theoretical, rather than empirical, work. Others in the field have drawn more recent features-based definitions, mostly based on empirical work, but these have tended to relate specifically to forced marriage rather than honour-based abuse (e.g. Hester *et al*, 2008 Kazimirski *et al*, 2009). A new one therefore seems timely.

This study has looked at honour-based abuse and forced marriage principally in terms of how they interact. As such, it has looked at forced marriage primarily as a form of honour-based abuse, and forced marriage has been seen to occur in a sub-set of the overall honour-based abuse cases analysed. Therefore, for the purposes of my policy definition, I wrap forced marriage within honour-based abuse and do not offer a separate definition of forced marriage. My features-based, descriptive definition draws out some of the relationships between forced marriage and honour-based abuse, and explains that the former can occur outside an honour-context. I consider that forced marriage as a specific, stand-alone act, has been already adequately defined in both criminal law and the Government policy definition,

and (as a pattern of abuse) has been well-defined in the existing features-based definitions (Hester *et al*, 2008; Gangoli *et al*, 2006; Chantler *et al*, 2009).

Table 47: Revised definition of honour-based abuse (Bates, 2017)

<i>Honour-based abuse: a policy definition (Bates, 2017)</i>	
Element of definition:	What is it doing:
“any incident, or pattern of incidents”	<i>The event or act. Widens to patterns as well as one-off incidents: this mirrors the domestic abuse definition. Criminal offence (‘crime’) does not need to be specified.</i>
“of controlling, coercive, intimidating, or threatening behaviour or abuse (which may include psychological, emotional, physical or sexual abuse, isolation, abandonment, forcing someone to marry, threats to kill, murder, kidnap, or other acts of domestic abuse)”	<i>The form(s) of abusive behaviour. Non-exhaustive list which situates controlling/coercive/intimidating behaviour as core features, and cross-references with other definitions and offences including coercive control, forced marriage and domestic abuse.</i>
“carried out by one or more family members and/or a current or former intimate partner”	<i>Gives the direction of the abuse and puts the perpetrator centre stage. Identifies intimate partners as key, as well as other family members. Shows that there can be a single, or multiple, perpetrators.</i>
“to protect or defend the honour of an individual, family and/or community against perceived or anticipated breaches of their code of behaviour”	<i>Describes motivation for abuse, and adds the notion of ‘honour’, which is critical. Includes both individual honour and wider community honour as motives. Anchors the notion of ‘honour’ in an expected code of behaviour. Adds ‘anticipated breaches’, to reflect potential proactive nature of abuse.</i>
“regardless of the age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion or gender of the victim.”	<i>Puts the person of the victim in the definition for the first time. The formulation “regardless of...” mirrors the domestic abuse definition, but extends the features to include age, ethnicity</i>

	<i>and religion. It allows for male victims, whilst recognizing (below) that abuse is gendered.</i>
"It is a form of (primarily male) violence towards (primarily) women."	<i>Situates abuse as gendered.</i>

Expressed as a single paragraph: 'honour-based abuse is any incident, or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, intimidating, or threatening behaviour or abuse (which may include psychological, emotional, physical or sexual abuse, isolation, abandonment, forcing someone to marry, threats to kill, murder, kidnap, or other acts of domestic abuse) carried out by one or more family members and/or a (current or former) intimate partner, to protect or defend the honour of an individual, family and/or community against perceived or anticipated breaches of their code of behaviour, regardless of the age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion or gender of the victim. It is a form of (primarily male) violence towards (primarily) women.'

I propose that this policy definition can be supplemented with the following features-based definition, which draws on this study's empirical findings, and reflects my construction of the three types:

- Honour-based abuse is a form of gender-based violence. Women are primarily the victims of honour-based abuse (although there are some male victims, especially in *Type II*), which is a form of (primarily male) violence against (primarily) women, driven by strong expectations about the roles, rights and behaviours of men and women within the family.
- In England and Wales, cases of honour-based abuse known to police and victims' NGOs can be seen to comprise three distinct types, primarily defined by the number of perpetrators and their relationship to the victim. Honour plays a part in some—but not necessarily all—the types, and operates in different ways:
 - *Type I*: typically abuse from a current or former intimate partner. Honour can be used as an explicit tool of (male) control of a (female) intimate partner in a one-to-one relationship (*Type Ia*), or can operate as implicit or explicit contextual pressure from extended family (in-laws or natal family, or both) on a victim to remain in an unwanted relationship (*Type Ib*). Some cases of abuse from an

intimate partner in a couple where one or more individuals are BME may not involve honour at all, and should be seen as intimate partner domestic abuse, rather than honour-based abuse.

- *Type II*: typically abuse from the victim's natal family members, usually parents, sometimes acting together with others including (but not limited to) brothers, aunts, uncles and cousins. Honour often operates as natal family pressure to marry or otherwise comply with behaviour or lifestyle the family wishes for (e.g. to withdraw from education or employment, or not to be lesbian or gay) connected with traditional, gendered family roles and expectations.
- *Type III*: typically abuse from a current or former intimate partner acting with other family members (usually the victim's in-laws). This type involves abuse from an intimate partner and in-laws relating to gendered and generational roles and expectations of a wife/daughter-in-law etc in the household (type III). It is not clear that abuse in this type is always honour-related.
- Victims range in age between their teens and over 50s, but most are in their 20s and 30s. Younger victims—under 25 yrs—are typical in *Type II*; those in *Type I* and *Type III* are more likely to be in their later 20s, 30s and 40s.
- Victims (and perpetrators) across all types may be from many ethnicities, including White British, although commonly one or more are BME, and often South Asian.
- Victims are both British nationals (commonly in *Type II*) and immigrants (commonly in *Type III*, where they may have no recourse to public funds).
- Multiple perpetrators are common, though there are also individuals acting alone (especially in *Type I*).
- Perpetrators often involve a current or former intimate partner (*Type I*), sometimes together with the victim's in-laws (*Type III*); other times it is the victim's natal family members only (*Type II*), often including parents, sometimes with brothers, uncles, aunts and other extended family members.
- Primary perpetrators are overwhelmingly male, but female secondary perpetrators are a distinctive feature (especially in *Type II* (mothers) and *Type III* (mothers-in-law)).

- Multiple forms of abuse are common in all types, typically controlling, intimidating and isolating behaviours which aim to get the victim to behave in a certain way, or agree to a certain action or lifestyle. Threats to kill are frequently involved.
- Honour-based abuse frequently overlaps with (i.e. it represents an additional layer of context or meaning to) domestic abuse. In some BME families, domestic abuse may be perpetrated by both the victim's intimate partner and their in-laws: this reflects the dynamics of extended family structures in some communities. In other cases, domestic abuse may involve intimate partner or family member abusers using honour as a tool to control or abuse the victim, for instance to shame them from leaving, in other cases to threaten to deport the victim, or take their children away.
- Victims have been forced to marry, or threatened with forced marriage, in about a third of cases (almost all in *Type II*). Very typically forced marriage occurs in a wider context of honour based abuse. This can happen in two ways: honour-based abuse can occur in the context of a victim resisting a marriage their family wishes them to make, or a forced marriage can form one element of a pattern of abuse which is punishing the victim for a perceived 'transgression'. It can also occur as a 'pre-emptive' action to control or correct conduct that the family anticipates the victim may take. The latter two may especially occur with LGBT victims, where being lesbian, gay or bisexual is perceived as shameful; equally, it may occur in cases where a victim's choice of partner is deemed unsuitable for another reason (e.g. another caste, ethnic group or culture, already has children (out of marriage), drinks alcohol, etc).
- Domestic abuse between intimate partners and family members in BME communities, and forced marriages, also happen outside an honour context.

Other policy implications

Finally, these findings have implications for policy in two further areas: practice responses to victims, and the possibility of new criminal law.

Implications for practice

These findings raise questions about practical responses to honour-based abuse, from both victims' NGOs and statutory services. Can the profiling of the types help identify the form that

abuse may take in specific cases, or help assess risk and protective factors? Specific factors which this study shows to be associated with the different types can be used to help profile and understand the risks in cases, to guide discussions with victims, to identify who, and how many, the perpetrators are, and what their relationship to the victim might be. These factors (identified below by type) could be important in identifying risks, but also protective factors, within the family or couple, in safety planning and designing interventions.

For *Type I*, key elements are the existence of intimate partner violence, with a perpetrator often acting alone; the use of honour as one tool (amongst many) of control available to those perpetrators; and/or the possible compounding pressure or intimidation (often relating to separation/divorce, and sometimes to custody of children) from either the victim's natal family or their in-laws. Also key is the higher chance of White victims (usually with BME perpetrators), the higher risk of physical and sexual violence, and the fact that this type is most likely to progress into the criminal justice system.

For *Type II*, key elements are the younger victim age (25 yrs being a key dividing age), the elevated risk of forced marriage, the involvement of (secondary) female perpetrators, multiple perpetrators and natal family members, the increased likelihood that victims will be British (often of South Asian ethnicity), that they are less likely to score high risk on the DASH RIC tool, and that the case is less likely to be treated as a crime or involve an arrest or charge.

For *Type III*, key elements are the victims being older (20s, 30s, 40s), the likelihood of abuse from an intimate partner plus in-laws, the likelihood that victims will have vulnerable immigration status (and that deportation may form part of the abuse or threats), the role of mothers-in-law and sisters-in-law in abusing, controlling or isolating the victim, the higher possibility of domestic servitude, a higher likelihood that they will experience multiple forms of abuse and an increased risk of threats to kill.

New criminal offences?

HMIC (2015) called for a review of the law on honour-based abuse and associated criminal offences. However, the HMIC report did not demonstrate either that there was a gap in the current law, or outline what might be required. The evidence from this study does not point

to a specific gap in the law. However, it does suggest that in many of these cases a core feature of the actual abusive behaviour relates to coercion, control, isolation and intimidation. All these behaviours come under the newly criminal offence of coercive or controlling behaviour. There is a clear opportunity to ensure that these different forms of honour-based abuse are recognised as forms of coercive and controlling behaviour as the new law is interpreted and implemented. In fact, the specific use of honour as a weapon of control would fit within the Government's definition of coercive and controlling behaviours. It might usefully be listed in government guidance as a specific aggravating factor, and/or as a specific form of such behaviour.

Conclusion: Research question 4

This discussion of research question 4 has shown that current national policy definitions are not fit for purpose—they do not adequately describe what is being identified as honour-based abuse in police and victims' NGOs. Based on the empirical evidence in this study, I propose a revised policy definition of honour-based abuse, and a more detailed, descriptive features-based definition to sit alongside it. Whilst (for the time being) I suggest that honour-based abuse continues to warrant its own definition, distinct from domestic abuse, my proposed definition locates honour-based abuse firmly as gendered, demonstrates how the relationships and forms of abuse involved often replicate those in domestic (intimate partner) abuse, and explicitly refers to the interactions between the two. If further research validates the typology of abuse arising from this analysis, there may be a good case for merging *Type I* and *Type III* together with other domestic and intimate partner abuse, and retaining *Type II* as a separate, stand-alone, definition of honour-based abuse.

I point to possible implications for practice and law, too. My findings suggest that existing policies and guidance, as well as definitions, may need to be amended, revised or expanded to reflect the different types and specific features of these cases. It would be useful for practitioners and services to be aware of the existence of the three types, to examine their own cases to see whether they are identifying all three, and to explore whether the types are (or should be) assigned different interventions.

Contribution and limitations of this research

Original contribution to knowledge

This study addresses an empirical knowledge gap around who and what is associated with cases of honour-based abuse in England and Wales. In particular, what honour-based abuse involves in addition to specific acts such as forced marriage, and how (if at all) it differs from domestic and intimate partner abuse. From analysis of new empirical data collected in the largest empirical study of its kind on honour-based abuse in England and Wales, it has created a three-type typology of honour-based abuse which generates new understanding of who and what are involved. It points to ways in which this typology can be used to revise our understandings of honour-based abuse, and how it should be seen alongside other forms of gender-based violence. It proposes both a revised policy definition, and a new features-based definition, of honour-based abuse: the first such attempt drawing on empirical data in this country in several years.

It makes a second original contribution, relating to methodology. The use of clinical data mining—or case file analysis—to scrutinise this form of abuse is innovative and underused. This study has shown that existing data in case files is rich and untapped, and has demonstrated its value in understanding this kind of social phenomenon (Hayes and Devaney, 2004; Epstein, 2010). The method has ethical advantages, including avoiding risks to victims of potentially exposing them to abusers by asking them to come forward for interview or of re-traumatising them by re-living experiences. This research underlined the potential for clinical data mining methodology in empirical research on the nature of violence, profiles and risk factors of victims and perpetrators, and for developing interventions.

Limitations

There are perhaps three main limitations, relating in turn to sampling, data analysis methods, and the quality of the criminal justice data.

The principal limitation of this study is the extent to which findings about the types and associated profiles can be generalised to all cases of honour-based abuse in England and Wales, due to the nature of the sample. Because the case file sample was drawn from three

specific sites, and was in part opportunistic, it is not possible to be certain whether the cases and types identified would be replicable in all areas of the country or all types of agency. In particular, it is hard to know the extent to which the high proportion of South Asian cases in the sample are true of all honour-based abuse cases, or whether they are skewed by the local demographics in the data collection sites. The existence of sizeable numbers of South Asian cases may in itself be significant—for example, showing that professionals are associating primarily South Asian communities with honour-based abuse, and not identifying other communities where it occurs. However, the dominance of these communities in the sample does mean that the study may miss key features and risks associated with cases in other communities. For example, it cannot conclude whether Kurdish or Middle Eastern honour-based abuse is substantially different in nature to South Asian, or perhaps whether the cases within that community break down differently into the types identified. The inclusion of data from police and victims' NGOs may also influence the profile of cases. Whilst having two different types of agency was a positive feature of the study, since it allowed comparison between them, it might again be that the cases sampled reflect certain profiles of victim who seek help or come to the attention of domestic abuse support services and the police. We cannot know whether those who, for instance, access health services or support via community networks, or indeed do not go to any agency, look the same as those profiled in this study.

These drawbacks to the sample were mitigated in two ways. First, two of the three data collection sites (S01 and S02) were located in areas of the country with the highest number of reported honour-based abuse cases—meaning that they were likely (a) to be familiar with how to distinguish such abuse since they dealt with many cases, and (b) they would have sufficient numbers of cases to allow examination. Second, profile variables and types were triangulated to the bigger Insights dataset, which was drawn from 48 different services across England and Wales. That the three types and their associated characteristics were replicated in this dataset is a strength of the study and makes the generalisability—at least of the existence of the three types—more possible. In sum, whilst there should be caution about generalising from this sample the exact proportions of cases which fall into each type, we can be more confident in the existence and replicability of the three, distinct types of honour-based abuse found in the study.

This study positively chose to use case file analysis as an innovative method of mining rich, existing data. It also positively sought to examine larger numbers of cases using quantitative methods, to test key characteristics and their associations with type. There were, however, limitations in relation to each of these choices. First, the nature of the case file data is that the information which is available is already pre-determined, and so it not possible to collect any additional data or interrogate particular concepts of interest, other than what already exists in the file. In this way, questions could not be explored about how honour played a part in each case, or the ways in which it influenced (or did not influence) behaviours. There was some evidence for these questions already in the case files, which was used to code for honour (or lack of evidence of honour), but ideally it would have been possible to conduct a qualitative interview with the individuals involved in the case as well. Second, whilst the 162-case combined dataset collected from the police, S01 and S02 sites was rich in detail and could be analysed descriptively, for several of the regression analysis models it contained too few cases for valid testing. This was mitigated by using the larger Insights dataset for much of the regression analysis, but should be noted as a limitation of the method.

Finally, criminal justice data collected across the datasets was largely poor quality (lots of missing data). This meant that criminal justice interactions and outcomes could not be profiled in a detailed way, and so this analysis focused on one or two key variables. Future work could examine the criminal justice progression and outcomes of the three types of case.

Further research

This was an exploratory study, which set out to investigate the nature of known cases of honour-based abuse, and point to fruitful avenues for further research. Several areas of further investigation suggest themselves based on these findings, both empirical and theoretical.

In terms of empirical work: first, my three types of honour-based abuse could be tested for replication (and generalisability) in other datasets, more geographic sites, across different types of agency and, especially, in more non-South Asian communities, particularly Middle Eastern ones. Replicating a case-file methodology could be a useful approach. Second, the types, their features and meanings could be qualitatively explored with victims and

communities (for instance in focus group discussions) to see whether their experiences and perceptions are in line with, or challenge, them. This might also generate ideas about how definitions, services or policies could be shaped in light of these types. Third, more extensive data about criminal justice interactions and outcomes could be collected and tested against the types. Fourth, the ways in which wider community members may be involved as perpetrators, whether explicit or implicit, would warrant further investigation. Fifth, forms of abuse relating to isolation, imprisonment, abandonment and kidnap could be explored in other case data on honour-based abuse: they were not specifically looked for in these datasets, but the case summaries contained some evidence of these issues occurring. Sixth, the ways in which risk is judged in these cases. The evidence from this study suggests that honour-based abuse (especially *Type II*) scores less highly on the actuarial risk tool the DASH-RIC, but that similar proportions of these cases are heard at MARAC as other domestic abuse cases. So, there may be questions about whether the DASH-RIC question adequately explore and identify risks in these cases; or, conversely, whether risks in these cases are being inappropriately inflated by professionals? This investigation could involve interviews with MARAC chairs or co-ordinators. Finally, there are a number of interesting questions to explore in relation to the roles of females as perpetrators in these cases: the questions this study has raised about the possibility of ‘passive resistance’ as well as active perpetration, and of women as both protective and risk factors.

In relation to future theoretical work, although I have located discussion of this study’s findings within ideas around commonality and difference (because of their relevance for my research questions on positioning, defining and conceptualising honour-based abuse in relation to domestic abuse and other forms of gender-based violence), there are two other theoretical frameworks which could be valuable to apply to these data. First, intersectionality. In addition to the key issues of race/ethnicity and gender, this study has highlighted several other features of identity which may contribute to victimisation, or at least to the victim’s particular experience of abuse. These include age (especially in relation to the inter-generational experiences of abuse, and power differentials between different family generations, in *Type III*), immigration status, and lesbian or gay sexual orientation. An intersectional approach (perhaps involving victim interviews and qualitative analysis) could be used to examine how victims’ experiences varied at the intersection of these different

identity features. It could also be fruitful to examine how the intersections of different victim and perpetrator relationships identified in the study were experienced by the victims (e.g. the particularities of intimate partner perpetrator only, family member perpetrators, combination of both). One fruitful avenue for future theoretical work might be further analysis of these cases applying intersectionality. Since honour-based abuse can be seen to arise at the intersection of ethnicity and gender (and sometimes other inequalities like sexual orientation), it offers an interesting study to test the possibility of applying Squires' (2009) notion of combined inequalities in practice. Rather than setting up inequalities in competition, and thereby flattening or overlooking the ways in which they interact, they could be analysed to see if their combined effect is more than the sum of its parts.

Second, coercive control. Since data were collected for this study the new law on coercive and controlling behaviour has been passed in this country. The concepts and definitions set out by the law offer an interesting framework to re-examine some of these data, to see how they might be applied to family and community perpetrators and the coercive and controlling behaviours which characterise much honour-based abuse and forced marriage. I would argue that both of these abuses—as with domestic abuse—should be conceptualised and responded to as patterns of controlling behaviour, rather than one-off incidents or acts.

Conclusion

This thesis has approached honour-based abuse within an overarching gendered framework, viewing it as one of many forms of gender-based abuse, all of which arise from patriarchal cultures in which women are systematically disadvantaged. Within that framework, taking a dual theoretical approach which I call 'commonality and difference' I argue, and provide new empirical evidence, that honour-based abuse in England and Wales has become artificially separated from other forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse. Inadequate definitions, limited empirical data, and a lack of scrutiny of identified cases has led to some (mis) identification of some intimate partner abuse amongst BME individuals and certain communities as honour-based, when in fact the nature, profile and risk factors of many cases are substantially the same as 'standard' domestic abuse. On the other hand, I argue, there is a distinct group of cases, containing specific victim, perpetrator and abuse characteristics, which can be seen as different in nature to other domestic and intimate partner abuse.

These conclusions flow from my development of a new typology of honour-based abuse cases (known to police and victims' NGOs), which I develop based on the relationship(s) of the victim and perpetrator, the number of perpetrators, the profile characteristics of the individuals involved, and the nature of the abuse in cases analysed. The three types are:

- *Type I (Partner abuse)*: Abuse from a single perpetrator only, who is a current or former intimate partner. In some cases, the profile looks identical to other, non-honour related domestic abuse (*Type Ia*); in other cases the partner uses honour/shame as an explicit tool of controlling the victim (*Type Ib*). Sometimes, but not always, these cases involve implicit pressure from wider family members on the victim to stay in an unwanted relationship;
- *Type II (Family abuse)*: Abuse from the victim's family members, usually their natal family. This often explicitly involves honour/shame discourse around the expected behaviour of the victim. It is more likely than the other types to involve forced marriage;
- *Type III (Partner plus family abuse)*: Abuse from a current or former intimate partner and also from family members, usually the victim's in-laws. In this type, where honour is explicitly mentioned, it mainly relates to the potential dishonour of (often immigrant) wives leaving their husband/in-laws and returning home.

Whilst all three types should be viewed as specific forms of gender-based violence, *Types I* and *III* can also be seen as forms of domestic and intimate partner abuse; whereas an argument can be made to define and respond to *Type II* differently in policy terms. However, until further research is carried out to validate my proposed typology, I suggest that the three types continue, for now, to be conceptualised together as honour-based abuse. To this end, I propose a revised policy definition of honour-based abuse, which incorporates the types, and better represents what this study has shown about the nature of this abuse nationally.

The advancement of new empirical data to address the knowledge gap around who and what characterise cases of honour-based abuse in England and Wales, the development and testing of a typology of abuse, and the proposal of a new definition, makes this study a unique and original contribution to knowledge.

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Appendix A: Research data access agreement with victims' NGOs (template)

**PHD PROJECT: HONOUR BASED VIOLENCE IN ENGLAND AND WALES
UNDERTAKING OF CONFIDENTIALITY**

“Research Data” is defined as recorded information held by [SERVICE NAME] on victims and cases of honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage and/or FGM, which is provided by [SERVICE NAME] to the researcher for the purposes of this research. It may include personal data.

I, Lis Bates, as the Principal Investigator involved in this research for the purposes of a PhD at the University of Bristol, hereby acknowledge the responsibilities arising from this agreement.

I understand that conducting this research means that I may have access to personal data held by [SERVICE NAME], and that such access shall include:

- a) reading or viewing of information held on computer or displayed by some other electronic means, or
- b) reading or viewing manually held information in written, printed or photographic form.

I undertake that: -

1. I shall not communicate to nor discuss with any other person the contents of the Research Data except to those persons who have a need to know.
2. I shall fully anonymise all Research Data before conducting analysis, so that no individual can be identified.
3. I shall not retain, extract, copy or in any way use any Research Data to which I have been afforded access during the course of my duties for any other purpose than this research project.
4. I will store the Research Data on a password-protected secure drive. Data will be kept securely for 10 years in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998, and then be destroyed.
5. I will only operate computer applications or manual systems that I have been trained and authorised to use. This training will include the requirements of the Data Protection

Act 1998 which prescribes the way in which personal data may be obtained, stored and processed.

I understand that the Research Data is subject to the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998 and that by knowingly or recklessly acting outside the scope of this Agreement I may incur criminal and/or civil liabilities.

I have read, understood and accept the above.

Name.....

Signed.....

Date.....

Appendix B: Further discussion of sampling strategy (police, S01 and S02 data sites)

In addition to the 1,312 pre-coded case profiles obtained from national domestic abuse charity SafeLives, my initial intention was to access police records on incidents and/or crimes flagged as honour-based abuse (including forced marriage and/or FGM) in several forces. I intended to look in detail at data in a couple of forces, and use learning from this about what was in police records to guide how many more forces to sample. I assumed that some might drop out during the study, or their data may be incomplete, and for these reasons I decided to hold initial discussions with six to eight forces, with a view to having between two and four in the final sample. As it was an exploratory study, a small number of sites was deemed to be sufficient to generate an initial exploration, and to identify themes and questions for further analysis.

To generate initial conversations with as many forces as possible, I decided on a mix of purposive and opportunistic sampling. This meant that, rather than approaching all 43 forces in England and Wales, I would select a number based on their reported numbers of cases of honour-based abuse, but that I would also approach any other forces where I had pre-existing contacts with key operational or strategic officers which might allow me to engage them in the research. Police data obtained under Freedom of Information requests (IKWRO, 2014) showed that numbers of flagged cases varied greatly between forces. Whilst there were limits to the accuracy of using this data alone as a measure of incidence of honour-based abuse (e.g. because forces may not have been flagging consistently), it was the best information available at the time on numbers of cases, and the forces reporting the highest numbers broadly tallied with those areas which victims' groups reported honour-based abuse. Therefore, I ranked police forces on the basis of the IKWRO data and purposively selected the five force areas reporting the most cases. In addition, I selected two other forces (with lower numbers of reported cases) where I had pre-existing contacts.

During 2014 I travelled to these seven forces around England and met with the lead officers for honour-based abuse and/or forced marriage in each force. Mostly this was the head of the Public Protection Unit (PPU) or equivalent; in one case it was the force strategic lead for domestic and honour-based abuse, in another the subject lead in a governance unit.

Whilst most of these meetings were fruitful, with senior officers being interested to participate in the research, I subsequently encountered difficulties in identifying the right person in each force who had authority to grant research access to the case files. Several did not have clear processes for requesting access; others did but were unwilling to allow me to access the detailed case data myself. Three months after making formal research requests of the seven police forces, I only had firm agreement to access data in one force, located in South West England – one of the opportunistically sampled forces. Whilst this force was not in the top five reporting the highest number of honour-based abuse cases, the opportunistic sampling approach (i.e. I would work with whichever force I could) meant that this force was still a valuable participant. However, I was concerned that the data could be partial, making it hard to draw any wider conclusions outside of this one geographical area, and one type of database (i.e. police cases). So, it was important to include some data from other areas of the country with larger relevant BME populations, and where prior data showed that there might be more cases of honour-based abuse; as well as desirable to sample cases not only known to the police.

Therefore, I widened the evidence base for the study away from only police records. I decided to combine data from the police force with data from some specialist domestic abuse NGOs on cases of honour-based abuse and forced marriage. This would give a broader evidence base, with more individual cases, and allow some comparisons between datasets used by different agencies.

Using SafeLives' Insights data to shape my sample, I approached five of the victims' NGOs who had supported most of the individual victims in these cases. I requested access to collect data from their case management systems for fuller descriptions of the people and abuse involved in these cases. Two of the five NGOs agreed to take part—both in areas of the country with large local BME (mainly South Asian) populations, and reporting sizeable numbers of honour-based abuse cases. The victims' NGOs were located in different parts of England: one in the North West and one in the East Midlands. Both these regions of England had been shown to be associated with high reported rates of honour-based abuse and forced marriage (see chapter 3).

Data from the three different collection sites (police, S01 and S02) were brought together into a single dataset for descriptive statistics and regression analysis. It was expected that there would be variations between the sites, not least because they were likely to identify and work with victims of different risk levels, and the local population demographics were different. In fact, difference was seen as a good thing because it would potentially capture variation in definition and nature of honour-based abuse, but also because it would allow patterns spotted in one site to be tested in others. To identify and control for any differences, the variable *site* was coded and included in the regression analysis.

Appendix C: Full list of variables (police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets)

For the police, S01 and S02 sites, some variables were lifted directly from the case management systems. Others which were derived from free text in the case files were coded into new variables, using grounded analysis to read and develop coding categories. Some were re-coded several times, condensing the categories until they were saturated and there were enough cases in each. In Insights the variables had already been cleaned, checked and pre-coded, and duplicates removed by the SafeLives data team. However, key variables were selected from amongst the 700 variables recorded for each case. Using the four headings of interest, the most relevant variables were selected.

The final list of variables across the police, S01 and S02 sites, and the Insights dataset was as follows.

Site

Which site the case was derived from, recorded as: Police, S01 or S02.²⁷

Victim variables

The victim variables were: age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, nationality, immigration status, religion, nationality, and victim and perpetrator relationship.

Victim age

Measured in years and recorded as whole numbers. Age was calculated at the time of coding from the victim's date of birth given in the extracted data fields from police, S01 and S02, as recommended by the ONS for demographic measurements (ONS, 2015b, p.14). Insights data was already pre-coded into whole number ages. For all cases a 'Don't Know' response category was available.

ONS harmonized principle 3 was used to create derived variables grouping ages into brackets (ONS, 2015b, p.14). This matched the age categories used by SafeLives in reporting annual

²⁷ Not relevant for Insights, since the Insights dataset was kept separate throughout.

Insights datasets, so would more easily allow comparison. Due to small numbers of cases overall and in particular at ages above 45 years old, the age categories were collapsed so that all victims over the age of 45 were treated as a single group. In addition, because those under 18 are still children and so can receive different services (and some adult domestic abuse services may not work with them), and because there were few cases under 18 years old, the lowest age category was drawn as '<18 yrs'. Amending the categories in this way was sound according to ONS methodology: "the level of aggregation of age categories will depend on the purpose of the analysis and the quality of the data including the sample size in the different age groups" (ONS, 2015b, p.14). Age was reported in five brackets: <18, 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45+. An additional derived variable was created in SPSS for analysis, breaking victim age down into two categories only: '<25 yrs' and '25 years and over'.

Victim gender

As per ONS guidance, gender was measured as the sex of the victim and recorded as 'Male', 'Female' or 'Don't Know' (ONS, 2015b, p.12). Consideration was given to other gender groupings (e.g. Intersex, Transgender, Transsexual), but there were no files which recorded gender as other than male or female. Insights data recorded 'Male' or 'Female'—missing data were coded 'Don't Know'. Victim gender was reported in data tables as 'Includes female' or 'Includes male' victim, to account for the few cases which had both.

Victim sexual orientation

Recorded whether a victim was 'LGBT' (this category could be assigned with confidence because it was self-identified by victims), "heterosexual" (i.e. currently in a heterosexual relationship), or 'Don't Know'. For the police, S01 and S02 datasets there were no bisexual or transgender victims, only lesbians and gay men; for Insights, a breakdown was not available for the LGBT victims.

The creation of this variable was problematic and illustrated the challenge with using pre-existing response categories (rather than constructing questions to ask people). Sexual orientation was listed as a variable in only one site (S02), in which one case was listed as 'Gay Female' and the others 'Heterosexual' or with data missing. Sexual orientation was of interest

because of the link in the literature between LGBT men and women and honour-based abuse, and, in particular, forced marriage. Ideally the variable would follow the ONS categories for self-classification (Heterosexual/Straight; Gay or Lesbian; Bisexual; Other; Prefer not to say) or the Equality and Human Rights Commission subdivision of 'Gay or Lesbian' into 'Gay Man', 'Gay or Lesbian Woman' (ECHR, 2010: 19). However, none of these designations were possible. Instead, a variable was created which recorded, at the time of the case, whether the victim had disclosed themselves to be Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual or Transgender (LGBT) (recorded as a single category due to very small numbers). If they were not, and were in a heterosexual relationship, this was recorded as "Heterosexual".

Victim ethnicity

Victim ethnicity data for police, S01 and S02 were extracted from a combination of pre-filled fields in the case records (where available), and (where not, and where possible) a manual determination of ethnicity from reading the case file notes. Initially the variable contained a long list of detailed ethnicities. The ONS harmonized ethnicity classification groups of 'White'; 'Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups'; 'Asian/Asian British'; 'Black/African/Caribbean/Black British'; and 'Other' were used to re-code the ethnicities from all three sites (ONS, 2015b, p.16). However, no cases were identified as 'Mixed/Multiple Ethnic' so this category was excluded. A handful of minority country of origin ethnicities were of particular interest because the literature showed that (in addition to South Asian ethnicities) honour-based abuse occurred amongst them—these involved Arab, Iranian and Turkish/Kurdish cases. So, these ethnicities were grouped together under a devised category called 'Middle Eastern/Arab' – not strictly an ethnicity but denoting a category of interest. All cases in the 'Asian/Asian British category' were in fact of South Asian origin, and so this category was renamed 'South Asian' to reflect that. Insights contained a longer, more detailed ethnicity breakdown; so these sub-categories were listed under the respective ethnicity grouping and the Insights data reported at both levels. The final aggregate groups were: Black/African/Caribbean/Black British; Middle Eastern/Arab, South Asian; White British/European; and Don't Know.

An additional derived variable was created in SPSS for analysis, breaking victim ethnicity down into two categories only: 'South Asian' and 'Non South Asian'.

Victim nationality

Nationality was available as a pre-coded field in the police site and Insights, but not for S01 or S02. It was deemed of interest as one way of distinguishing between those recently immigrated and those settled in this country (e.g. to distinguish between Asian Indian and Asian British individuals), but also because nationality would be a measure of the range of countries associated with honour-based abuse.

Where possible, in S01 and S02 the victim's nationality was coded by hand from the case record. If British (born or naturalized), this was designated British; for all non-British individuals, the county of origin was listed. This yielded a list of 27 categories, including 'Don't Know'. Given that most only contained one or two cases, nationalities were grouped into four: 'British/EEA National', 'Pakistani', 'Other' and 'Don't Know'. This was done because British and Pakistani were by some way the biggest single categories. Insights recorded a long-list of nationalities, but these were also collapsed into the four responses listed above.

An additional derived variable was created in SPSS for analysis, breaking nationality down into 'British/EEA national' and 'Non British/EEA national'.

Victim immigration status (No Recourse to Public Funds (NRPF))

Whether the victim had 'No recourse to public funds' (i.e. insecure immigration status). Available for S01, S02 and Insights, but not for police data.

A pre-coded variable for immigration status was only available in S02 and Insights. S01 used 6 main categories (Asylum seeker/refugee, British/EU national, EEA national, Permanent Resident with ILR, Temporary resident (e.g. work, study or spousal visa), Don't Know). The most relevant aspect of immigration status was whether the victim had 'no recourse to public funds (NRPF)', which would mean that they could not access housing or other social security benefits and would likely have difficulties as a consequence accessing refuge provision. The literature shows this to be a challenge for many BME victims of domestic abuse, and something that often traps them in abusive relationships (see chapter 3). The Insights dataset specifically asked whether victims had NRPF (yes/no/don't know). Therefore, this variable was coded into the response categories 'NRPF', 'Has Recourse to Public Funds' or 'Don't

Know'. The police dataset did not have enough detail to populate the variable, so this variable was excluded for that dataset.

Victim religion

For police, S01 and S02: 'Atheist', 'Christian', 'Hindu', 'Muslim', 'Sikh' or 'Don't Know'. 70% of cases were missing data for this variable, and it was not available at all in Insights.

Religion was available as a variable in the police dataset but almost all cases were missing data. For S02 it was largely complete, and for S01 it was populated by hand from the case files. Following ONS guidance the categories were created: No religion, Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Jewish, Muslim, Sikh, Any Other (ONS, 2015b). The variable was populated from the existing data fields and by hand from case files. No cases fell in the 'Buddhist', 'Jewish', 'Any Other' or 'No Religion' categories, so these were removed. 'Atheist' was added since one victim positively identified as atheist and this identity formed part of the motive for abuse.

An additional derived variable was created in SPSS for analysis, breaking religion down into two response categories: 'Muslim' and 'Non-Muslim'.

Victim and perpetrator relationship

A new variable, coded from the case files in a grounded manner, for police, S01 and S02 (not available for Insights). For each case, all the perpetrators in the case and their relationship to the victim were listed. These fell into three broad groups: the victim's current or former intimate partner, their in-laws, and their natal (birth) family members. Perpetrators comprised different combinations of these three groups of relatives in different cases: these combinations were summarised as the following 8 categories: 'current or ex intimate partner only', 'current or ex intimate partner and in-laws', 'current or ex intimate partner and natal family', 'current or ex intimate partner and in-laws and natal family', 'in-laws only', 'natal family only', 'in-laws and natal family' and 'Don't Know'. These relationship categories later formed the basis for the creation of the different 'types' of case.

A further variable was created which indicated whether a victim's current/ex intimate partner was involved in the abuse (Y/N/DK). For the police, S01 and S02 datasets, this counted if they

were involved in any role (as primary or secondary perpetrator); in Insights, it was only counted if they were the primary perpetrator (Insights only captures the victim's relationship to the primary perpetrator).

Another variable was created for the subset of cases which did involve a current/ex intimate partner, to capture whether they were acting alone. For the police, S01 and S02 datasets, this counted any other perpetrator involved; in Insights, there was an indicator for 'multiple perpetrators' (response options: Y/N/DK), and this was combined with the 'primary perpetrator relationship' variable to create this new one.

Perpetrator variables

The perpetrator variables were: age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, religion, the number of perpetrators, and whether a female perpetrator was involved. The first five variables were in principle available in the same way as the equivalent victim variables in the police, S01 and S02 datasets. As the case files (especially for S01 and S02) held considerably less detail in general on the perpetrators than the victims, there was a high proportion of missing data for these variables. Perpetrator age was therefore only included as a variable for the police dataset, perpetrator ethnicity only for police and S01, perpetrator nationality only for the police, and perpetrator religion only for S01. In Insights, demographic data were only available on perpetrator gender – and this only for the primary perpetrator. The data tables in Chapter 6 illustrate where data were missing in the different datasets.

Number of perpetrators

This was a new variable, populated from the case records for the police, S01 and S02 datasets. Where there was more than one perpetrator involved (whoever they were) this was marked as 'multiple' and where only one, 'single'. There was a 'Don't Know' category. In Insights, there was a pre-coded variable for multiple perpetrators (Y/N/DK) – this was re-coded into 'multiple/single/DK'.

Female perpetrator(s) involved

A new variable, this was of interest because the literature had shown that female family members were more associated with honour-based abuse and forced marriage cases than other cases of domestic abuse (see chapter 2). It was populated by hand from the case records in the police, S01 and S02 datasets. Where the free text description of perpetrators showed that a female was involved as a perpetrator, whether they were the only one, this was recorded as Yes. The variable was included under 'perpetrator gender' in the data tables and was not available for Insights, which only records demographic data on the primary perpetrator.

Who the female perpetrator(s) were

This was a new variable in the police, S01 and S02 datasets only. Where a female perpetrator was involved, a description of who they were was recorded in a free text box. This was then recoded into 8 groups based on the relationship of the main female perpetrator: current or ex wife or girlfriend; mother-in-law; sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law; mother-in-law & sister(s)-in-law or aunt(s)-in-law; own mother; own sister(s) or aunt(s); own mother & sister(s) or aunt(s); mother in law & own mother.

Two derived variables were created in SPSS for analysis: whether (or not) the victim's mother was involved; and whether (or not) the victim's mother-in-law was involved. This was done because the literature suggests that a victim's mother or mother-in-law can be key actors in preserving family order or honour and may be instrumental in these cases (see chapter 2).²⁸

Abuse profile variables

The abuse variables were: forced marriage, whether forced marriage was actual/attempted or threatened, physical abuse, sexual abuse, coercive or jealous controlling behavior, harassment and/or stalking, threats to kill, total number of forms of abuse, risk level (DASH RIC score) and MARAC threshold.

²⁸ Where a mother was involved, it was sometimes hard to tell from the case record whether she was actively involved in the abuse, or whether she was in fact a protective factor. Sometimes the record did not contain enough information to distinguish; other times it seemed possible from reading the victim's account that the mother was acting in a dual role, perhaps appearing to support the victim's male relatives outwardly, but secretly being supportive to the victim. This would be a very interesting avenue to explore in future research.

Forced marriage

Forced marriage (Y/N) was coded from the case files in the police, S01 and S02 datasets; in Insights, it was pre-coded in these response categories. In the case files, if it was identified as having taken place or been attempted, or there was mention of concern that there might be a risk of a future forced marriage (however speculative), it was marked as a yes. If there was no such mention, it was marked as No. A second variable was created for the police, S01 and S02 datasets for the sub-set of cases involving forced marriage, which coded from the case file whether the marriage had already been contracted or attempted ('attempted/actual') or if the victim was deemed at risk ('threat or risk'). A third variable was created in all four datasets to show the overlap between the forced marriage and honour-based abuse cases: in all datasets this was calculated by expressing the cases involving forced marriage as a proportion of the overall honour-based abuse cases. For the Insights data, forced marriage was pre-coded as being present or absent: for each case it was indicated whether there was a risk of forced marriage, a risk of HBA or a risk of both. In the Insights dataset, forced marriage was defined in the same way but pre-coded by the frontline professionals collecting the data.

Forms of abuse: physical, sexual, coercive/controlling behaviour, harassment and stalking

The police, S01 and S02 datasets did not record individual forms of abuse as variables. Therefore, new variables were created for four forms of abusive behavior, to mirror those in Insights: presence of physical abuse, presence of sexual abuse, presence of coercive control or emotional abuse,²⁹ and harassment and/or stalking. For each case in the police, S01 and S02 datasets, these four variables were populated from the case file narratives. In these datasets, it was often not explicit from the case records whether the form of abuse had occurred. Therefore, if the abuse was explicitly identified in the case file it was recorded as 'Yes'; all other cases it was recorded as 'Don't Know'. Consequently, a high proportion of the cases had 'Don't Know'; however, where an abuse form was classified 'Yes', it was certainly present. This makes it very likely that the presence of these abuse forms is under reported in the dataset, as the evidence bar has been set high. In the data tables in Chapter 7, the variable is listed just where the form of abuse was definitely present; in Chapter 8, it is split into Yes

²⁹ In Insights, this is called 'Jealous and Controlling Behaviour' but the definition/description is the same.

and No/Don't Know. For Insights, the four forms of abuse were pre-coded, and included 'No' as well as 'Yes' and 'Don't Know'— however they are reported in the same way in the data tables.

As with forced marriage, for analysis in SPSS, the 'No' and 'Don't Know' response categories were collapsed together, leaving for each abuse two groups ('[abuse type] present' and 'No/DK').

Threats to kill

Threats to Kill was added because quite a few case records contained such threats, and because the literature had shown a link between honour-based abuse and murder. It was defined as 'any explicit or clear implicit mention of killing or threats to kill by a perpetrator or other family member involved in the case, whether they were believed by the victim and/or caseworker'. It was coded from the case files for police, S01 and S02 in the same way as the other forms of abuse, and reported in the data tables only if it was positively identifiable. The variable did not exist in Insights. As with the other abuse types, for analysis in SPSS, the 'No' and 'Don't Know' response categories were collapsed together, leaving two groups ('threats to kill present' and 'No/DK').

Multiple forms of abuse

A variable was created which summed any 'Yes' answer to the 6 abuse types, and gave a *total number of abuse forms*. The responses were in whole numbers and ranged from 0 to 6.

Risk level and MARAC threshold

Both only available in Insights. Insights data captures measures of the risks identified in each case, in two variables based on the widely-used Domestic Abuse, Stalking and 'Honour'-Based Violence Risk Identification Checklist (DASH RIC). Caseworkers assess clients against a checklist of 24 known risks around domestic abuse and assign a score based on how many of those risks are identified. A score of 14 or more is deemed to be very high risk and these cases will usually be heard at a MARAC (Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference). Cases scoring 10 or more are deemed high risk, and under 10 standard risk. Insights captures a numerical

RIC score for each case. It also captures whether the case was deemed to reach the threshold to be heard at MARAC: in addition to cases scoring 14+, lower scoring cases can be escalated to MARAC threshold based on professional judgement and/or on if there have been three or more police call-outs in the previous 12 months. Local areas and police forces set their own specific thresholds and referral criteria to MARAC.

The actuarial risk level (score of 1-14 on the DASH Risk Identification Checklist) was pre-coded into whole numbers, but grouped for this variable into 'Non-high risk', defined as a score of lower than 10; 'High risk', defined as 10 or over, and 'Don't Know' (SafeLives, 2014). MARAC threshold was pre-coded into 'Yes' and 'No'; it was reported in this variable just as the proportion of cases which met the threshold.

Criminal Justice System (CJS) variables

The CJS variables were: known to police, crime classification, arrest, charge, list of offences, and list of convictions and penalties.

Initially, the study set out to investigate whether and why there were different criminal justice outcomes for honour-based abuse cases. However, during data collection it became apparent that the detail and quality of criminal justice data in the police, S01 and S02 datasets was not good quality. The police site recorded several already coded variables, following the Home Office Counting Rules for police recorded crime (Home Office, 2016). These were: the current crime status of the incident, the current offence group, current offence description and current detection status. However, for S01 and S02 there was limited data available, and what existed had to be searched for by hand in the case file notes. This was done, at both sites on two occasions, but the information was missing for many cases and, where it existed, often partial or in different forms. Partial or inconsistent data is a known challenge for this kind of secondary data extraction (Hayes and Devaney, 2004, p.319).

Insights contained data on whether the victim had contacted the police for all 1312 cases (from intake form). There were 218 cases which had matched Insights Civil/Criminal Justice forms at exit, and for this subset of cases data were available on whether an arrest had been

made, whether a charge/caution/no further action was then taken, a breakdown of which offences had been charged, and of convictions/penalties in those cases.

The final variables list contains variables where criminal justice data could be extracted from one or more of the police, S01, S02 and Insights datasets. The data tables in chapter 8 indicate where variables were not available in specific datasets.

Known to police

Measured as whether the case was known to police at any point. 100% of the police dataset were coded 'Yes'; for S01 and S02 data, the case file was searched for any police involvement. Category responses were Y/N/DK. For Insights, this was a pre-coded variable from the 'intake' form which measures whether police have been called in the 12 months prior to intake to the service.³⁰ The response categories for 'No' and 'Don't Know' were later collapsed into a single group for regression analysis (i.e. to allow comparison of the two groups 'Yes' and 'No/DK').

Crime classification

For the police dataset this was pre-coded as either 'crime', 'crime-related incident', 'force incident', 'non-notifiable' or 'no crime' (Home Office, 2016). These categories were recoded so that 'crime' became 'crime associated' and the other categories became 'no crime associated'. For the S01 and S02 data, where the case file recorded that the incident had been investigated as a crime (whether or not it was later 'no-crimed' and whether or not an arrest or any other action was taken), it was coded 'crime associated'. Where the case file recorded that the police had determined that no crime had been committed, it was coded 'no crime associated'. All other cases were coded 'Don't Know'. The response categories for 'No' and 'Don't Know' were later collapsed into a single group for regression analysis (i.e. to allow comparison of the two groups 'Yes' and 'No/DK'). The variable did not exist in Insights.

³⁰ This is not a not a perfect comparison for the variable in the police, S01 and S02 datasets since it may cover a somewhat longer time period, but is the closest comparable variable. The Insights variable response category is the number of times the police have been called in the previous 12m, but this was re-coded so that a response of 1 or more = Yes, and 0 = No.

Arrest

The case records for the police, S01 and S02 datasets were too incomplete to code arrest. So, Insights was the only dataset to record this variable, which was taken from the CCJ form at exit from the service.

Charge (encompassing No Further Action)

Where a charge, caution or decision to take no further action (either before or after arrest) was clearly recorded in the police, S01 and S02 case file narratives or notes they were coded. All other cases were coded 'Don't Know'.

For Insights, the measure was drawn from the CCJ form at exit. 'Charge' captured whether the police recommended a charge to the CPS, 'caution' captured police cautions, and 'no further action' included cases where NFA was taken either at the police or CPS stage.³¹

Offences

These data were only used from the Insights dataset, where they were derived from the CCJ form at exit. The variable was pre-coded into a list of offence categories under the heading 'Offences against the person' and 'Offences against property'. Numbers of offences were counted for each charge, rather than each case.³²

Convictions and penalties

These data were only used from the Insights dataset, where they were derived from the CCJ form at exit. The variable was pre-coded into a list of penalties and sentences.

³¹ There were only 3 cases where a charge was recommended by the police and the CPS took no further action.

³² There may be more charges than cases, since a single case may have involved more than one charge.

Appendix D: Logistic regression–model development

Selection of regression methods

Different methods were considered for running the logistic regression. Stepwise methods were considered for their relevance in situations where no strong theoretical basis exists for the influence of individual variables on the outcome variable (Field, 2005). Because descriptive statistics already run in chapter 8 had shown relationships between some predictor variables and the outcome variables, the aim of regression was to test whether these relationships remained significant whilst holding the other variables steady. Therefore, there was some theoretical underpinning for selecting the predictor variables and so stepwise methods were rejected. In addition, stepwise methods incur difficulties relating to replicability (Field, 2005; Lewis, 2007), with results often not replicated in the same sample; they are also (forward stepwise) prone to Type II errors.

Blockwise, or hierarchical, entry methods were then considered. This approach allows the influence of individual variables in the model to be tested, by adding the variable with the likely most impact into the model in the first block, then adding other variables in subsequent blocks. The method is good where predictor variables may be inter-related (Lewis, 2007) and it incurs less variation and error than stepwise methods (Field, 2005, Lewis, 2007). If variables do not improve the model they are ignored. For blockwise methods, because the researcher decides on the order of entry of the variables—those with the most anticipated impact should be entered first—the method is a collaboration between researcher and computer. However, this method does require a sound rationale for which predictor variables will have most impact, and the researcher draws on this sound rationale to include or exclude variables in order. Whilst some rationale existed in this case (from the descriptive statistics), the aim of regression in this study was exploratory and more about theory-building than theory-testing. There was consequently not a sound theoretical basis for predicting the relative impact of the predictor variables as compared to one another—and this was not the aim of the exercise.

The forced entry method was then considered. This method involved putting all the variables into the model together. Individual variables should be included based on some theoretical rationale (which existed here, from the descriptive statistics). They are then tested and

retained, or excluded, from the model based on whether they have significant predictive power individually. Importantly, this approach does not require a theoretical basis for the relative strength of the predictor variables, and therefore the order in which they are entered, or anticipated to have relative impact. For these reasons, forced entry was deemed to be the best method fit for this study.

A major challenge for regression with the police/S01/S02 dataset was the relatively small numbers of cases in the sample, particularly when considering multiple predictor variables. Field (2005) shows that a good rule of thumb for sample size is 10 to 15 cases per predictor variable. Green (1991) gives two rules of thumb for minimum acceptable sample size. If the aim of the regression is to test the overall fit of the regression model, he recommends a sample size of $50 + 8k$ where k is the number of predictors. If the aim is to test the individual predictors within the model, the sample size should be at least $104 + k$. If the aim is both, take whichever sample size is bigger. My sample for the police/S01/S02 dataset was 153 cases. On Green's rule of thumb, this would suggest modelling no more than 12 predictor variables: but this assumes that all 153 cases had full data available for all 12 predictor variables (which was not the case). This rule of thumb calculation was used for each model to determine whether to run the regression analysis on the police/S01/S02 datasets in addition to the Insights dataset (which had a much bigger sample size). The result was that only Model 2 (outcome variable *intimate partner perpetrator*) was run on the police/S01/S02 dataset: Models 1 and 3 were only run on Insights.

Model 1 (type): Model development—multinomial logistic regression (Insights dataset only)

Only the Insights dataset was used for Model 1. Regression was attempted using the police/S01/S02 dataset, since it contained some variables not available in Insights (involvement of a (secondary) female perpetrator, involvement of natal family, involvement of in-laws). However, two main problems occurred. First, the dataset (at 153 valid cases) was too small for multinomial regression to three outcome categories—there were lots of subgroups containing no cases, which made the results unreliable, even after variables were grouped and collapsed. Second, the variable for data collection site in this model was found to be significant, meaning that site might confound the ability of the model to identify

predictive power from other variables. The Insights dataset contained a much bigger sample and was free from the influence of data collection site. The limitation of only using Insights was that variables for influence of natal family and in-law perpetrators could not be tested using regression (because these variables did not exist). However, they had already been tested for their individual associations with the types using descriptive statistics.

First, the following assumptions for multinomial logistic regression were checked and met in the Insights dataset (Field, 2009):

- The outcome variable was categorical and had three or more categories
- Predictor variables were continuous and/or categorical

The outcome variable for the model was *type* (three response categories). 1,266 cases were valid for this outcome variable. Before any modelling was attempted, the 11 predictor variables found to be significantly associated with *type* in the descriptive statistics were examined for levels of missing data (see table 48, below).³³ It was observed that both *primary perpetrator gender* and *charge* had very high levels of missing data (over 50% each): so, these two variables were excluded as they would seriously reduce the number of cases in the overall sample. The variable *multiple abuses* was also excluded because it was double counting the variables *physical abuse*, *sexual abuse* and *forced marriage*.

Table 48: Variables significantly associated with *type* (Insights dataset)

Variable	Categories	Significance of Pearson's chi-square correlation with <i>type</i>	Valid cases	Missing data (DK/missing values)
Victim age	<18 18-24 25-34 35-44 45+	p<0.001	1312	0

³³ Only two variables were significant in the police/S01/S02 dataset and not in the Insights dataset: *multiple perpetrators*, and *involvement of a female perpetrator*. The former was not a valid variable in Insights because it was used to construct the three types; the latter was excluded in Insights.

Victim gender	Male Female	p<0.001	1283	29
Victim ethnicity	Black African/Caribbean Middle Eastern/Arab South Asian White British/European Other	p<0.001	1294	18
Victim immigration status	No Recourse Recourse	p<0.001	1265	47
Primary perpetrator gender	Male Female	p<0.001	705	607
Physical abuse	Yes No	p<0.001	1305	7
Sexual abuse	Yes No	p<0.001	1268	44
Forced marriage	Yes No	p<0.001	1312	0
Risk	High risk Non high risk	p<0.001	1298	14
Multiple abuses	1 form 2 forms 3 forms 4 forms 5 forms	p<0.001	1312	0
Charge	Charge NFA Cautioned DK/missing	p<0.01	128	1,184

Because all predictor variables would be split into the three response categories of the outcome variable, it was important to have as few response categories as possible for each predictor, to avoid having sub-groups with no cases in them. For this reason, the remaining eight predictor variables were all collapsed to have two response categories each (these categories are shown in the results table 34 in chapter 8).

The initial regression model for Model 1 (Model 1A) was run with all eight of these predictor variables. A forced entry method was used. This model had a chi square of 491.085, significant at $p < 0.001$. All the predictor variables remained significant to either *Type II* or *Type III* compared with *Type I*, with the exception of *physical abuse*. However, the model had 34.9% of zero frequency cells (subgroups containing no cases—there were 131 cells). Zero frequency cells do not fatally undermine the regression model, but it is desirable to reduce the proportion as low as possible (<http://www.statisticssolutions.com/mlr/>).

To get the number of cells with zero frequencies down, two different approaches were attempted to reduce the number of overall subgroups. First, Model 1B was run (forced entry). The predictor variables found to be no longer significant in Model 1A were removed (namely, *physical abuse*). Model 1B contained the remaining seven variables, and all seven remained significant. The proportion of zero frequency cells dropped to 28.1% (64 cells). The model chi-square was 488.158, significant at $p < 0.001$.

Second, Model 1A was split into two models: the first to look at victim variables, the second abuse variables. The first resulting Model 1C (victim variables only: age, gender, ethnicity, NRPF) contained only 7.7% zero frequency cells (3 cells). The model was again significant at $p < 0.001$, with a model chi-square of 311.422. All four victim variables remained significant. The second resulting Model 1D (abuse variables only: physical abuse, sexual abuse, forced marriage, risk) only had 2.1% zero frequency cells (1 cell). The model was again significant at $p < 0.001$, with a model chi-square of 207.196. As with Model 1A, all variables except *physical abuse* remained significant. The combined results of Models 1C and 1D showed that the only difference made by splitting out victim and abuse variables into separate models was to reduce the number of zero frequency cells—exactly the same predictor variables remained significant as when all seven were included together in Model 1B. Therefore, Model 1B was retained as the best model—this is the final regression model reported for outcome variable *type* in table 34 in chapter 8.

The reference category *Type I* was selected for the outcome variable because it was of most interest to compare the types which involved different perpetrators to ‘just’ intimate partner violence (*Types II* and *III*) with the type which looked most similar (*Type I*). Because the analysis was exploratory, there was no theoretical basis for selecting a specific reference

category for the predictor variables; therefore, for consistency with my descriptive statistics, I kept the reference categories as they were coded in the variables in SPSS.

Model 2 (*intimate partner perpetrator*): Model development–binomial logistic regression (both datasets)

Unlike the multinomial regression, it was decided to model the binomial logistic regression on both datasets. This was because the binary outcome variable categories reduced the number of subgroups, and therefore a smaller sample was possible. Triangulation of findings between tests on two separate datasets was deemed useful. The outcome variable was slightly different for the two datasets. In the police/S01/S02 dataset, it counted whether an intimate partner was involved at all in the abuse (i.e. whether a primary or secondary perpetrator); in Insights, the measure was whether the primary perpetrator (only) was an intimate partner. Therefore, the two datasets were analysed and reported separately.

Selection of variables

Chi-square tests for predictor variables for *intimate partner perpetrator* showed seven variables were significantly associated in the police/S01/S02 dataset, and 12 in the Insights dataset (see table 36 in Chapter 8). *Site* was added as an eighth variable in the police/S01/S02 dataset, to test for any significant influence from the data collection sites. All eight variables were entered into an initial binary logistic regression model for the police/S01/S02 dataset, and all 12 in to the initial model for Insights dataset.

Police/S01/S02 model development

For the police/S01/S02 dataset, this initial Model 2A (containing the eight variables) only returned 37 valid cases in the model, with 125 cases missing. Neither the model nor any of the individual variables were significant. The whole model was discarded due to this and the small number of valid cases.

So, frequencies were run for all 8 variables to identify which had significant levels of missing data. These were found to be: *female perpetrator included* (38 missing), *primary perpetrator gender* (14 missing), *sexual abuse* (67 cases missing), and *crime associated* (51 cases missing).

The decision was taken to retain the variable *female perpetrator included* for the next model, as it was a variable which couldn't be tested in the Insights dataset. The other three variables were removed.

Model 2B was run containing the remaining 5 variables (*victim age*, *multiple perpetrators*, *female perpetrator included*, *forced marriage*, and *site*). The model contained 119 valid cases, with only 43 missing. The model chi-square was 49.614, significant at $p < 0.001$. Three variables were seen to remain significant predictors: *victim age*, *female perpetrator included*, and *forced marriage*. Consequently, these three, together with *site* (which was significant for the S02 site) were entered into a third and final model (Model 2C).

Model 2C contained 119 valid cases and had a model chi-square of 49.600, significant at $p < 0.001$. In this final model (reported in table 34 in chapter 8), all three variables remained significant predictors: *victim age*, *female perpetrator included*, and *forced marriage*.

'Intimate partner perpetrator' was selected as the reference category for the dependent variable for similar reasons as for Model 1 (*type*): namely, it was of interest to see how the cases of honour-based abuse involving a family member perpetrator were different to cases involving 'just' intimate partner violence. Because the analysis was exploratory, there was no theoretical basis for selecting a specific reference category for the predictor variables; therefore, for consistency with my descriptive statistics, I kept the reference categories as they were coded in the variables in SPSS.

Insights model development

For the Insights dataset, the variable *multiple abuses* was excluded because it had logical overlap with three other variables (*physical abuse*, *sexual abuse* and *forced marriage*): the presence of any of these would automatically increase the value for the variable *multiple abuses*. The remaining 11 predictor variables found in table 36 in chapter 8 to be significantly associated with *intimate partner perpetrator* were entered into the initial model (forced entry).

This initial Model 2D (11 variables) returned 547 valid cases, with 765 missing. The model chi-square (197.273) was significant at $p < 0.001$, but over half the cases were missing. So,

frequencies were run for all 11 variables to identify those with high proportions of missing data. These were found to be: *primary perpetrator gender* (705 cases missing), and *charge* (1184 cases missing). These 2 variables were removed and the model was re-run.

Model 2E was run containing the remaining nine variables. This model contained 1127 valid cases and only 185 missing. Its model chi-square (491.74) was significant at $p < 0.001$. Only one variable—*physical abuse*—was found to be non-significant in this model, so it was removed.

A third and final model (Model 2F) was run with the eight predictors which remained significant in Model 2E. As reported in table 39 in Chapter 8, Model 2F contained 1,128 valid cases and its model chi-square (482.564) was significant at $p < 0.001$. In this final model, all eight variables remained significant predictors: *victim age*, *victim gender*, *victim ethnicity*, *victim immigration status*, *multiple perpetrators*, *sexual abuse*, *forced marriage* and *risk*.

‘Intimate partner perpetrator’ was selected as the reference category for the dependent variable for similar reasons as for Model 1 (*type*) and Model 2 in the police/S01/S02 dataset: namely, it was of interest to see how the cases of honour-based abuse were different to cases involving ‘just’ intimate partner violence. Because the analysis was exploratory, there was no theoretical basis for selecting a specific reference category for the predictor variables; therefore, for consistency with my descriptive statistics, I kept the reference categories as they were coded in the variables in SPSS.

Model 3 (*Forced marriage*): Model development—binomial logistic regression (Insights dataset)

Site was significant in the police/S01/S02 dataset, with the standardized residuals showing that forced marriage was more associated with the victim services (S01, S02) than the police site. All three variables (excluding site) which were shown to be significant in the police/S01/S02 dataset were also significant in the Insights dataset. On this basis, and to mitigate the effect of site, regression was only run on the Insights dataset.

As with Model 2 for the Insights dataset, the variable *multiple abuses* was excluded because it had logical overlap with three other variables (*physical abuse*, *sexual abuse* and *forced marriage*): the presence of any of these would automatically increase the value for the

variable *multiple abuses*. The remaining seven predictor variables found in table 42 in Chapter 8 to be significantly associated with *forced marriage* were entered into the initial model (forced entry). These were: *victim age*, *victim immigration status*, *multiple perpetrators*, *primary perpetrator gender*, *intimate partner perpetrator*, *physical abuse* and *sexual abuse*.

This initial Model 3A returned 553 valid cases, with 790 missing. The model chi-square (61.258) was significant at $p < 0.001$. Frequencies were run for all seven variables to identify those with high proportions of missing data. A single variable—*primary perpetrator gender*—was found to account for most of the missing cases (that variable had 736 missing cases). Therefore, this single variable was removed and the model re-run.

Model 3B was run containing the remaining six variables. This model contained 1182 valid cases and only 161 missing. Its model chi-square (220.489) was significant at $p < 0.001$. Three predictor variables were found to be no longer significant in this model: *victim immigration status*, *physical abuse* and *sexual abuse*. These three variables were removed and the model re-run.

A third and final model (Model 3C) was run with the three remaining variables (*victim age*, *multiple perpetrators* and *intimate partner perpetrator*). This model contained 1261 valid cases and only 82 missing. Its model chi-square (227.950) was significant at $p < 0.001$. In this final model, all three variables remained significant predictors: *victim age*, *multiple perpetrators*, and *intimate partner perpetrator*.

‘No forced marriage’ was selected as the reference category for the dependent variable because the model was interested in comparing which variables were associated with a forced marriage occurring, compared with it not occurring.

Checking regression assumptions: multicollinearity and residual statistics

For each regression model, the predictor variables were checked for multicollinearity (where there is a strong correlation between two or more predictor variables in a regression model).

The predictor variables were also checked for residuals and outlying cases which might skew the model.

Multicollinearity is a problem in regression analysis because if there is an association between two predictor variables it may be this, rather than an association between a predictor variable and the outcome variable, which is showing the significant effect. The residuals represent the error in the model—if a model fits the sample data well, the residuals will be small. Cases with a large residual may be outliers (Field, 2009, p.216).

Following Field (2009), checks were run for multicollinearity in the Linear Regression menu in SPSS for each of the regression models. Following Field (2009), checks were run on residuals in the Logistic Regression menu in SPSS, asking for Casewise Listing of Residuals and outliers outside 2 standard deviations.

Table 49: Regression assumption checks, Model 1 (Insights)

<i>Insights dataset</i>	Coefficients – collinearity statistics	
Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Victim age	.882	1.134
Victim gender	.990	1.010
Victim ethnicity	.984	1.016
Victim immigration status	.969	1.032
Sexual abuse	.909	1.100
Forced marriage	.882	1.134
Risk	.936	1.068

The tolerance statistic for all predictor variables was between .882 and .990—comfortably above the 0.1 or 0.2 level at which Field (2009) suggests there may be collinearity. The same is true of the VIF, which is between 1.010 and 1.134 for all predictor variables—comfortably below the value 10 at which Field suggests there may be collinearity. Residuals and outliers could not be checked for Model 1 as SPSS does not offer an option for running these diagnostics for multinomial logistic regression.

Table 50: Regression assumption checks, Model 2 (police/S01/S02)

<i>Police/S01/S01 dataset</i>	Coefficients – collinearity statistics	
Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Victim age	.841	1.190

Female perpetrator included	.989	1.011
Forced marriage	.788	1.269
Site	.883	1.133

The tolerance statistic for all predictor variables was between .788 and .989—comfortably above the 0.1 or 0.2 level at which Field (2009) suggests there may be collinearity. The same is true of the VIF, which is between 1.011 and 1.269 for all predictor variables—comfortably below the value 10 at which Field suggests there may be collinearity. Residuals showed that there were 4 cases which fell outside 2 standard deviations (± 1.96). These represented less than 5% of the cases in the model, which Field suggests is tolerable.

Table 51: Regression assumption checks, Model 2 (Insights)

<i>Insights dataset</i>	Coefficients – collinearity statistics	
Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Victim age	.877	1.141
Victim gender	.983	1.018
Victim ethnicity	.932	1.073
Victim immigration status	.966	1.035
Multiple perpetrators	.883	1.133
Sexual abuse	.908	1.101
Forced marriage	.858	1.166
Risk	.936	1.069

The tolerance statistic for all predictor variables was between .858 and .983—comfortably above the 0.1 or 0.2 level at which Field (2009) suggests there may be collinearity. The same is true of the VIF, which is between 1.018 and 1.166 for all predictor variables—comfortably below the value 10 at which Field suggests there may be collinearity. Residuals showed that there were 40 cases which fell outside 2 standard deviations (± 1.96). These represented less than 5% of the cases in the model, which Field suggests is tolerable.

Table 52: Regression assumption checks, Model 3 (Insights)

<i>Insights dataset</i>	Coefficients – collinearity statistics	
Variable	Tolerance	VIF
Victim age	.827	1.210
Intimate partner perpetrator	.750	1.334
Multiple perpetrators	.884	1.131

The tolerance statistic for all predictor variables was between .750 and .884—comfortably above the 0.1 or 0.2 level at which Field (2009) suggests there may be collinearity. The same is true of the VIF, which is between 1.131 and 1.334 for all predictor variables—comfortably below the value 10 at which Field suggests there may be collinearity. Residuals showed that there were 59 cases which fell outside 2 standard deviations (± 1.96). These represented less than 5% of the cases in the model, which Field suggests is tolerable.

Appendix E: UoB SPS Ethics Committee approval for my PhD proposals (via email, dated 12/02/2015)

Re: SPSREC14-15.A05

Beth Tarleton <Beth.Tarleton@bristol.ac.uk>

Dear Lis

Thank for your speedy, thorough response to the SPS REC. Please take this email as confirmation of ethical approval for your project: *Honour-based abuse in the UK criminal justice system* (SPSREC14-15.A05). Please contact Zaheda if you require a formal letter of approval.

Please let the committee know if you are going to proceed with the CPS (or any other significant changes). There would need to be an amendment to your ethics approval. The committee would need to be made aware of your process and have sight of your documents. I'm sorry if this seems duplication of the CPS process.

with best wishes

Beth

Appendix F: Procedures for analysis of case records

This appendix contains some further detail about how the case records in each of the three data collection sites (police, S01 and S02) were analysed: specifically, in what format the case data initially existed at each site, how variables in different format were brought together, and how these data were used to create the case summaries.

Chapter 5 (Methodology, *Data Collection*) set out the way in which the data were collected and variables selected for extraction under the four key themes of victim characteristics, perpetrator characteristics, abuse profile and criminal justice interactions. It explained, for each of the three data sites, how the case data was extracted, cleaned, anonymised and then transferred off-site using encrypted memory sticks.

The format in which the case data was initially accessed varied slightly from site to site.

In the police force, free-text case management notes for each case were extracted automatically into an Excel file, with the help of a police analyst who (under my instruction) set up bespoke code to extract that text from the relevant data fields in the police database. A set of other variables - which I had identified as key from an initial examination of what was in the police database - were also automatically extracted into a separate Excel sheet with the aid of the same analyst. As a result, all the cases sampled from the police site were then contained in a single Excel file, in two separate sheets. Sheet (1) contained, for each case, case management notes which included: a step-by-step account of the police actions and investigations from the initial police report to the close of the case, and a 1-paragraph 'case summary' written by the lead officer on the case which set out what and who the incident involved. Sheet (2) contained, for each case, victim and perpetrator demographic variables, and criminal justice outcomes. I then combined these into a single Excel sheet by using the Sheet (2) as the base, and adding extra columns to that sheet for some additional variables which were coded from the case management notes in Sheet (1). These additional variables were: first, the different types of abuse present in each case, which I populated from the case management notes; and second, the one-sentence case summary written by the lead police officer. For each case, I reviewed the case management notes in Sheet (1) to ensure that the case summaries included a description of who was involved in each case as (a) victim and (b) perpetrator(s), (c) what (abuse) was involved, and (d) a brief description of any honour or shame context to the abuse if one was identified in the case management notes. Any additional information on these four points I added to the police case summary.

In S01, the case data initially came in two formats. A single Excel sheet containing (for each case) the victim and perpetrator demographic information already existed on the service's computer system (again one variable per column, and one row per case). This Excel sheet was copied and anonymised and used as the basis for data extraction. I was given access to the service's electronic file system. On-site, I printed off (in a single Word and/or PDF document) case management notes (free text observations) for each of the sampled case. On-site, I used these to populate the additional variables into the Excel file. As with the police site, these additional variables were: first, the different types of abuse present. In addition, I used the case management notes to populate the variables on criminal justice interactions (arrest, charge, conviction etc). Using the police case summaries as a template, I then used the case management notes for each case to write a brief descriptive case summary, using the same

four-point format as described for the police data, above. Once this was complete, I shredded the print-outs.

In S02, as with S01, the data initially came in an Excel file containing for each case (in one row) the victim and perpetrator demographic variables. However, an in-house analyst also extracted for me to the same Excel file variables for each case on the different forms of abuse present, and criminal justice interactions. As with the process at S01, I accessed electronic documents for each sampled case containing the case management notes. These were not printed out, but accessed only electronically on a computer on-site. As with S01, I again used these case management notes to create a brief descriptive case summary for each case, using the same four-point format as described for the police data, above. These case summaries were added to the Excel file containing demographic and abuse variables.

Once the data at each of the police, S01 and S02 sites had been put into these Excel sheets (one for each site) and anonymised, they were removed off-site and combined into a single master Excel spreadsheet. In this master datasheet, each column contained a different variable, and each row a different case (each with a unique, anonymised case ID number). Where a variable did not exist in a particular dataset, the cell was greyed out.

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